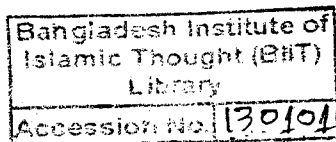


KINGDOM OF SAUDI ARABIA
MINISTRY OF HIGHER EDUCATION

IMAM MUHAMMAD
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HISTORY OF THE MUSLIMS OF BENGAL

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VOLUME II B
BENGAL MUSLIMS DURING THE
FIRST CENTURY OF BRITISH RULE
(1757-1871)

BY
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بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم
الحمد لله رب العالمين والصلاة والسلام على رسوله سيدنا ونبينا محمد وآله أجمعين وبعد.

PREFACE

The third part of the volume is devoted to the role of the Muslims of Bengal in the wider *jihād* movement, or the "Fifty years' struggle", as the *Times* of London characterized it in 1871. There of course exists a number of works on this movement. Mention may be made in this connection of S.A.H.A. Nadawī's *Sīrat-i-Sayyid Ahmad Shahīd* (2 vols.), Ghulam Rasul Mehr's *Sayyid Ahmad Shahīd* in two volumes and two other companion volumes on the *mujāhids*, both in Urdu, and Q. Ahmad's *The Wahabi Movement in India*. Valuable though these works are, none of their authors has brought into proper relief the very significant role of the Bengal Muslims in the movement as a whole. Moreover they appear to have based their accounts primarily on the writings of some surviving companions of Sayyid Ahmad and other participants in the movement; and though some use has been made by these scholars of isolated and unconnected files of the government records, the more complete and connected series of records available on the subject appear to have been generally left unconsulted. It may be mentioned in this connection that the records relating to the movement as it concerned the British Indian authorities are contained in the *Bengal Judicial Proceedings* in the first instance and the military and other proceedings of the supreme government. A complete run of these proceedings is preserved in the Foreign and Commonwealth Relations Office Library, London. It is also noteworthy that the few published selections of records, which, by their very nature, are incomplete, such as the Bengal government's *Selections* No. 42 (Papers Relating to the Trial of Maulavi Ahmedullah), M.A. Khan's *Selections from Bengal Government Records on Wahhabi Trials* (1863-1870), (Dacca, 1961), are taken from the *Bengal Judicial Proceedings*. So far as the period covered by the latter *Selections* is concerned, a far more

complete and connected collection in fact exists in the *Mayo Papers* (Cambridge University Library) under the title: "Correspondence on the Wahabi Movement". This collection is also made from the *Judicial Proceedings*. The writers who have hitherto written on this subject do not appear to have consulted this last mentioned collection, nor of the very useful volume of *Parliamentary Papers* of 1864 (Vol. 43, Papers 58: "Paper Relating to the Late Disturbances in the north-west frontier"). The value of the writings of such participants in the movement as Ja'far Thāneswarī and 'Abd al-Rahīm cannot of course be overestimated; but it needs to be borne in mind that writing as they did under the full flash of the British Indian authorities and after their return from exile in the Andamans in consequence of a government proclamation of amnesty, these participants in the movement naturally tended to be apologetic at times and to belittle or obscure such aspects of the movement as were likely to involve them in further troubles. For instance, Ja'far Thāneswarī attempted to convey an impression that the *jihād* movement was not directed against the British Indian government as such. It is therefore necessary to balance and collate such accounts by a reference to the records of the British Indian authorities.

The present writer, besides consulting the above mentioned records, may claim to have used at least three other series which no previous writer on the subject has done. These are: (a) the detailed proceedings of trials of the Bengal and Bihar leaders which appeared serially in the columns of the *Englishman* and the *Indian Daily News* (Calcutta), after each day's proceedings in the court, during 1870 and 1871; (b) three detailed reports on the investigations and trials submitted to government by J.H. Reily, the officer in charge of the investigations, and (c) the *Mayo Papers*, including the above mentioned "Correspondence on the Wahabi Movement". In the light of all these records the present writer has attempted to give for the first time a connected account of the role of Bengal Muslims in the fifty years' armed struggle against foreign rule. There has been no intention to belittle the part played by the Muslims in the other parts of the subcontinent, which in any case has already received ample attention from the

scholars. The attempt has only been to set the record right in so far as the Muslims of Bengal were concerned.

This third part of the volume consists of seven chapters. One of these chapters (Chapter XVI) has been devoted to the role of the *mujāhids* in general and the Bengal Muslims in particular in the intervening revolts of 1857-58. The last but one chapter of this part deals with the Bengal Muslims' formal repudiation of the concept of British India as *dār al-ḥarb*, the theoretical foundation of the *jihād* movement. The last and final chapter takes into account the British authorities' assessment of this newly declared attitude of the Muslims, with special reference to Hunter's *The Indian Musalmans*, which was published in 1871 and which has mistakenly been regarded by many a scholar as setting the pattern for the rulers' revised attitude to the Muslims and as providing a model for the latter's subsequent "separatist" apology. It has been shown that the work had no such role and that, far from providing the model for a "separatist" outlook it merely reflected in a very peculiar way the ideas and attitudes the Muslims themselves had been expressing for a long time prior to 1871. At the end J.H. Reilly's reports on the investigations at Malda, Rajmahal and Patna have been appended.

As explained at the beginning of the first volume of this work, the term "Bengal" has been used to denote roughly the "Bengal Presidency" of the East India Company's administration, or, in other words, the areas covered by present-day Bangladesh, the Indian province of West Bengal and parts of Bihar. Since the present volume depends mainly on sources in English language, the use of diacritical marks even with regard to Arabic and Persian expressions have been minimized while they have been generally dispensed with in well-known and easily recognizable personal and place-names.

I am grateful to the authorities of the Imām Muḥammad ibn Sa'ūd Islamic University, Riyadh, particularly to its Rector, Dr. 'Abd Allah ibn 'Abd al-Moḥsin al-Turkī, and to the director of its Research Centre, Dr. Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Raḥman al-Rubaiya, for their having sponsored the project. I am thankful to two of my colleagues, Professor Sayyid Rizwan Ali, who

pointed out a number of typing errors, and Professor Fazlur Rahman, who went through the proofs of several chapters and helped me in other ways. My thanks are due also to Professor Muhammad Aslam of Lahore who was kind enough to procure and send me the photocopy of the relevant portion of the *Manzūrat al-Su'adā'* mentioned above; and to my student and friend, Dr. A.S.M. Akhtar Hussain, who went through the proof of a chapter and all along showed a keen interest in the work.

I owe a special debt of gratitude to Professor K.A. Ballhatchet of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, without whose help and cooperation it would have been almost impossible for me to stay in the United Kingdom for working in the various libraries for the purpose of this project. He has ungrudgingly and cheerfully borne my frequent calls upon his time and attention. He has also seen some of the chapters and has helped me with valuable comments and suggestions.

In preparing this book I had to work in the Foreign and Commonwealth Relations Office Library, London, the British Museum, the Senate House Library of the University of London, the School of Oriental & African Studies Library, the Cambridge University Library, the Baptist Missionary Society Archives, the Church Missionary Society Archives, etc. Everywhere I received the best of attention and the most willing cooperation. My thanks are due to the staff of all these libraries and institutions. My thanks are due also to the staff of "Al-Harf", particularly to Mr. Faiq al-Bakri and Mr. Amanullah, for their care and cooperation in typesetting the book. Finally, my loving thanks are due to my sons, Manu (Manwar), who cheerfully typed a good deal of this volume and made photocopies of the typescript for the press; and Maaruf, who painstakingly went through the final proof of the entire volume and brought to my notice a number of errors that would otherwise have escaped scrutiny; and Mansoor, who helped me in correcting typing errors and in various other ways. Last but not least, I am especially indebted to my wife, Rosy (Razia), for constant help, both academic and otherwise, and for the much-needed encouragement to persevere in this project,

IX

especially at moments of difficulty and despondency which necessarily beset me at times during this prolonged and arduous literary pursuit, being away from home and having to work under not too enviable a situation.

Riyadh, 15 Rabi' II, 1408 H.
(6 December 1987)

M.M. Ali

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

Add. MSS. (also B.M. Add. MSS)	British Museum Additional Manuscripts.
<i>B.I.A. Annual Report</i>	<i>Annual Report of the British Indian Association.</i>
<i>B.M.S. Report</i>	<i>Annual Report of the Committee of the Baptist Missionary Society.</i>
<i>Beng. Cr. Judl. Cons.</i> (also <i>Prods.</i>)	<i>Bengal Criminal Judicial Consultations (Proceed- ings).</i>
<i>Beng. Edn. Prods.</i>	<i>Bengal Education Proceedings.</i>
<i>Beng. Judl. Prods.</i>	<i>Bengal Judicial Proceedings.</i>
<i>Beng. Mil. Cons.</i>	<i>Bengal Military Consultations.</i>
<i>Beng. Pol. Cons.</i>	<i>Bengal Political Consultations.</i>
<i>Beng. Pub. Cons.</i>	<i>Bengal Public Consultations.</i>
<i>Beng. Rev. Cons.</i>	<i>Bengal Revenue Consultations.</i>
<i>Beng. Sec. Cons.</i>	<i>Bengal Secret Consultations.</i>
<i>Board of Rev. Cons.</i>	<i>Board of Revenue Consultations.</i>
<i>C.C.A.</i>	<i>Calcutta Christian Advocate, The</i>
<i>C.C.C. of C.M.S.</i>	<i>Calcutta Corresponding Committee of the Church Missionary Society.</i>
<i>C.C.H.</i>	<i>Calcutta Christian Herald, The</i>
<i>C.C.O.</i>	<i>Calcutta Christian Observer, The</i>
<i>C.H.I.</i>	<i>Cambridge History of India.</i>
<i>Coll. to Edn. Despatches</i>	<i>Collections to Education Despatches.</i>
<i>Com. of Rev.</i>	<i>Committee of Revenue.</i>
<i>E.O.M.</i>	<i>Englishman's Overland Mail, The</i>
<i>Englishman</i>	<i>Englishman and Military Chronicle, The (Cal- cutta)</i>
<i>G.C.P.I.</i>	<i>General Committee of Public Instruction.</i>
<i>G.R.P.I.</i>	<i>General Report on Public Instruction in the Lower Provinces</i>
<i>H.M.S.</i>	<i>Home Miscellaneous Series</i> (Foreign and Commonwealth Relations Office Records).
<i>I.O.L.</i>	<i>India Office Library (London. Now renamed Foreign and Commonwealth Relations Office Library).</i>
<i>I.P.A. Proceedings</i>	<i>Proceedings of the Central Committee of the Indigo Planters Association.</i>
<i>Ind. Leg. Prods.</i> (also <i>Cons.</i>)	<i>India Legislative Proceedings (Consultations)</i>

XIV

<i>Ind. Pol. Cons.</i>	<i>India Political Consultations</i>
<i>Ind. Pub. Cons.</i> (also Prodgs.)	<i>India Public Consultations (Proceedings)</i>
<i>Ind. Sec. Cons.</i>	<i>India Secret Consultations</i>
<i>J.A.S.B.</i>	<i>Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal (Calcutta).</i>
<i>J.A.S.P.</i>	<i>Journal of the Asiatic Society of Pakistan (Dacca).</i>
<i>J.R.A.S.</i>	<i>Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland (London)</i>
<i>Malda Report</i>	<i>J.H. Reily's report on the Malda investigations dated 15 November 1870.</i>
<i>P.L.C.I.</i>	<i>Proceedings of the Legislative Council of India.</i>
<i>Par.Pap. H/C.</i>	<i>Parliamentary Papers (House of Commons).</i>
<i>Patna Report</i>	<i>J.H. Reily's report on investigations and proceedings at Patna, dated 31 December 1871.</i>
<i>Rajmahal Report</i>	<i>J.H. Reily's report on his investigations at Rajmahal, dated 24 November 1871.</i>
<i>Riyād</i>	<i>Ghulām Husain Salīm, Riyād al-Salātīn, Eng. tr. by A. Salām, Calcutta, 1904.</i>
<i>S.A.</i>	<i>Ja'far Aḥmad Thāneswarī, Sawānīḥ-i-Aḥmadī.</i>
<i>Siyar. II.</i>	<i>Sayyid Ghulam Husain Tabṭabāī, Siyar al-Muta'kherīn, Vol. II, tr. M. Raymond (Hājī Muṣṭafa), Calcutta, 1789.</i>
<i>S.O.A.S.</i>	<i>School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London.</i>
<i>S.R.B.G.</i>	<i>Selections from the Records of the Government of Bengal.</i>
<i>T.P.</i>	<i>Tattvabodhinī Patrikā (Bengali, organ of the Tattvabodhinī Sabhā of Calcutta).</i>
<i>T.S.</i>	<i>'Abd al-Raḥīm, Taḍhkira-i-Šādiqa, Allahabad, 1924.</i>

LIST OF MAPS

1. Map showing the extent of the *jihād* movement.

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1. Unpublished copyright materials preserved in the Foreign and Commonwealth Relations Office Library (I.O.L.), London, appear in this work by permission of Her Majesty's Stationery Office.
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PART III
THE FIFTY YEARS' STRUGGLE

(THE *JIHĀD* MOVEMENT AND THE MUSLIMS OF BENGAL)

CHAPTER XIII

SAYYID AḤMAD SHAḤĪD AND THE INCEPTION OF THE JIHĀD MOVEMENT (1821-31)

I. EARLY LIFE OF SAYYID AḤMAD

Sayyid Aḥmad was born in 1201/1786 in a respectable and learned family of foreign extraction settled at Rai Bareilly in U.P., northern India.¹ His father Sayyid Muḥammad 'Irfān claimed his descent from the family of Prophet Muḥammad (peace and blessings of Allah be on him).² One of Sayyid Aḥmad's elder brothers, Sayyid Muḥammad Ishāq, was a scholar of established reputation, having received his education at the Delhi Seminary of Islamic learning (*Dār al-'Ulūm*) under the supervision of Shāh 'Abd al-'Azīz and his brother Shāh 'Abd al-Qādir, both sons of Shāh Walī Allah of Delhi. Another brother of the Sayyid, Sayyid Muḥammad Ibrāhīm, served in the army of Nawwāb Amīr Khān of Tonk. Sayyid Aḥmad's subsequent connections with both Delhi and Tonk thus appear to be quite in line with his family tradition.

Sayyid Aḥmad received his early education at the hands of his father. The latter died, however, when Sayyid Aḥmad was only 13 years old. He was thereafter maintained and looked after for sometime by his above-named elder brothers. When about 18 years old he is said to have gone to Lucknow, capital of Oudh, in search of employment but that for some reasons he next moved on to Delhi and attached himself to the seminary there for further education. Most probably he was induced to do so by the example of his brother, Sayyid Muḥammad Ishāq, who had earlier studied there.

At Delhi Sayyid Aḥmad received instruction mainly under Shāh 'Abd al-Qādir, younger brother of Shāh 'Abd al-'Azīz, studying Qur'ān, *Hādīth*, *Tafsīr* and other branches of Islamic learning over a period of about four years. During this period he came in close contact with Shāh Muḥammad Ismā'il and 'Abd al-Ḥayy, nephew and son-in-law respectively of Shāh 'Abd

¹ Rai Bareilly is situated approximately at 79½°E and 28½°N.

² S.A., 4: *Calcutta Review*, No.C., 80.

al-'Azīz. These two persons were impressed by the Sayyid's personality and qualities of leadership and became subsequently his two ardent followers in the *jihād* movement. In 1807 (1222 H.), when about 21 years old, Sayyid Ahmad formally became a disciple of Shāh 'Abd al-'Azīz.¹ Early in the following year (1808/1223) Sayyid Ahmad returned to his birth-place, Rai Bareilly. His stay and education at Delhi had definitely linked him with the intellectual and reforming tradition of the Delhi scholars and had enkindled in him a desire for undertaking the work of reform and regeneration of the Muslims. Indeed his preceptor, Shāh 'Abd al-'Azīz, seems to have recognized his intellectual gifts and obvious qualities of leadership. The general view that Sayyid Ahmad did not possess as high an intellectual capacity as that of his two distinguished followers, Shāh Muḥammad Ismā'il and Mawlawi 'Abd al-Hayy, does not appear to be correct. In fact the literature produced by these two latter persons, which have obviously been the basis of such assumption, were really composed at the dictation of Sayyid Ahmad. Also, his hitherto discovered letters, which are quite numerous, bear an eloquent testimony to his learning and depth of knowledge.

Be that as it may, Sayyid Ahmad came back from Delhi imbued with the ideas of reform and determined to undertake the career of a reformer. His subsequent activities appear remarkably to be calculated steps towards the realization of that objective. For the following two years after his return from Delhi Sayyid Ahmad stayed at Rai Bareilly. During that period he married Sayyeda Zahra, daughter of Sayyid Muḥammad Rawshan, and had a daughter born to him in 1809. In 1810 Sayyid Ahmad, after having consultations with Shāh 'Abd al-'Azīz at Delhi, joined the army of Amīr Khān of Tonk. Originally from Boner in the north-western frontier, Amir Khān had carved out an independent principality for himself in Rajputana, central India, and had established his position as the acknowledged leader of a number of Muslim chieftains in the region known as Pindaris.² Sayyid

¹ S.A., 8: Ghulam Rasul Mehr, *Sayyid Ahmad Shahīd*, (Urdu text, Lahore, 1952, p. 76.)

² For details see *Memoirs of a Pathan Soldier of Fortune, Nawwab Amir Khan of Tonk*, Tr. H.T.T. Prinsep, Calcutta, 1832. See also Basawan Lal, *Amir Nāma* (Life of Amir Khan), 3 vols.

Ahmad joined Amir Khān's army obviously with a view to getting the necessary military training and experience for the liberation movement which he had in view and also, perhaps, to endeavour to make Tonk the nucleus of such a movement. That his aim was not simply a professional career in the army is evident from the fact that with the educational qualifications which he had obtained he had clearly other less hazardous and more suitable employment open before him, such as employment as a teacher either at Delhi or at the madrasa at his native place, Bareilly. It is also on record that he had earlier turned down the offer of a career in the army of Oudh.¹ Moreover, as will be seen presently, he left Tonk when it no longer suited him to stay in its army. Exactly what position Sayyid Ahmad held in the army is not definitely known. During his seven years' stay there he used to lead the troopers in prayer, preached to them his reform ideas and participated in at least a couple of military campaigns in which he showed remarkable prowess and judgement. But whatever his military rank, his personal status at Tonk was definitely not that of an ordinary soldier. At any rate he developed an intimate relationship with Amīr Khān and his heir-apparent Wazīr al-Daulah, both of whom held him in high esteem and continued to respect and support him even when he had left Tonk. In December 1817 Amīr Khān, under increasing military and political pressure of the English, entered into a "subsidiary alliance" with them placing his army under the control of the British Indian authorities. This situation made the Sayyid's stay in the army of Tonk meaningless. Hence he left the army and went direct to Delhi in May or June 1818, to have consultations with his preceptor about the next course of action.

The political situation in the subcontinent was at that time taking a very gloomy turn for the Muslims. In the east the English East India Company had already consolidated their hold over Bengal and Bihar. The suppression of the Pindaris and the acceptance, under irresistible pressure, of the "subsidiary alliance" by both Amīr Khān and the Nawwāb of Oudh virtually brought the whole of northern India also under British control. In the west

¹ Mehr, *op.cit.*, 75-76.

the Sikhs under Ranjit Singh had established an oppressive regime in the Panjab and beyond towards the north-west frontier. The Sikh ruler openly persecuted the Muslims, stopped 'Adhān and prevented the Muslims from saying their prayers openly. Under the situation the political liberation of the Muslims appeared a *sine-qua-non* for any programme of their reform and regeneration. A realization of this fact on the part of Shāh 'Abd al-'Azīz and his associates led him to take three significant steps at that time. In the first place it was about this time that he formally declared Hindustan a *dār-al-ḥarb* or a country under non-Muslim occupation.¹ The declaration did not of course specifically call upon the Muslims to embark upon a *jihād*, but it unmistakably drew their attention to the changed status of the land with the implication that the duty of *jihād* had devolved on them. Secondly, Shāh 'Abd al-'Azīz now definitely selected Sayyid Ahmad as the leader of the intended liberation movement and asked his (Shāh 'Abd al-'Azīz's) relatives and disciples to formally place themselves under the latter's leadership. A number of important persons like Shāh Ismā'il and Mawlawī 'Abd al-Ḥayy took *bay'at* at Sayyid Ahmad's hand at that time. Thirdly, for the purpose of launching the liberation movement a publicity committee and a military committee were appointed in which the above-named persons and some others were included to take the necessary steps in this respect.

II. INITIAL PREACHINGS AND PREPARATIONS (1819-1820)

In pursuance of the decision to embark upon the work of reform and liberation Sayyid Ahmad, accompanied by Shāh 'Ismā'il, Mawlawī 'Abd al-Ḥayy and some other disciples undertook preaching tours in a number of places in the Ganges-Jumna Doab including Ghaziabad, Muradnagar, Meerut, Sradhna, Muzaffarnagar, Deoband and Saharanpur during the closing months of 1818 and the first half of 1819. Everywhere he received encouraging response. Hundreds of persons are said to have attended him and entered into *bay'at* at his hands. At Saharanpur a

¹ See *Fatawa-i-'Azīzī*, Delhi, 1311/1893-94, p. 17.

non-Muslim youth embraced Islam and became his disciple.¹ In course of these tours Sayyid Aḥmad expounded his ideas of reform. He called upon the Muslims to adhere strictly to the principle of *tawḥīd*, to abandon all species of *shirk*, particularly the practice of paying reverence to tombs, attendance at *urs* or annual celebration in remembrance of a *pir*, taking out or participation in the *t'azia* procession organized by the *Shī'as* and generally to refrain from subscribing to other un-Islamic customs, practices and innovations. Everywhere the Sayyid exhorted his listeners and disciples to follow strictly the injunctions of the Qur'ān and the *Sunnah* in their personal as well as social life. The religious and intellectual life in northern India was at that time saturated with *ṣūfism*. Probably because of this situation Sayyid Aḥmad adopted a rather *ṣūfī* idiom, calling his reform movement the *tarīqa-i-Muḥammadiya*, in contradistinction to the other *ṣūfī tarīqas*, which in other words meant the way of the *sharī'at* and the *Sunnah*. It is clear that he denounced popular *pīrism* as it had taken root in northern India, inveighed against mendicancy and mysticism in all its forms, and discouraged meditation and contemplation instead of leading an active life in conformity with the *sharī'at*.² Far from conniving at such idle and solitary life as the *ṣūfī* method of meditation and contemplation implied, Sayyid Aḥmad preached during these tours the doctrine of *jihād*, an active struggle in the way of Allāh for liberating the Muslims from the bondage of superstitious innovations and hostile political power and for establishing a truly Islamic society.³

Having concluded the first phase of his preaching tours Sayyid Aḥmad returned to Rai Bareilly towards the end of June 1819. Before his return his eldest brother Mawlana Sayyid Muḥammad Ishāq had died in April of the same year. After staying at Rai Bareilly for some time Sayyid Aḥmad undertook

¹ S.A.H.A. Nadawi, *Sirat Sayyid Ahmad Shahīd*, Vol. I., 138-139. It may be noted here that when the British authorities carried out investigations into the movement in the sixties of the nineteenth century a number of "recent converts" from Hinduism were found among the ranks of the *mujāhids*.

² *Wāqā'i-i-Aḥmadī*, 264-65, 276-82, quoted in M. Ahmad, *Saiyid Ahmad Shahid*, Lucknow, 1975, p. 69; also Shāh Ismā'il Shahīd, *Śīrāt-i-Mustaḥqīm*, (Persian text), Calcutta, 1823, 58-60, 67-68.

³ *Wāqā'i-i-Aḥmadī*, 440-41, quoted in M. Ahmad, *op.cit.*, 74-75.

another series of preaching tours in the later part of 1819. During this time he visited the eastern districts; particularly the cities of Allahabad, Benares and Lucknow. At the latter place Mawlawī Wilāyat 'Alī of Sadikpur (Patna), who had been studying at the Lucknow religious seminary, paid a visit to Sayyid Ahmad and being impressed by his erudition and personality became his disciple. In view of the subsequent development of the movement, the conversion of Wilāyat 'Alī was the most significant success of Sayyid Ahmad's preaching tours in the second half of 1819. A number of other persons also became his disciples at every place he visited. His preachings also attracted the attention of the Nawwāb of Oudh, Ghāzī al-Dīn Haider (r. 1819-27) and his minister, Aghā Mīr. Both of them were however staunch Shī'as and were otherwise too engrossed in worldly affairs to adopt the reformed life suggested by the Sayyid, though they treated him with marked respect and civility. It appears that they even indirectly discouraged the Sayyid's making converts of the Shī'a population of the place to the cause of the *jihād*. On the whole, however, the preaching tours of 1819 were attended with appreciable success. It was also during this period that his teachings and ideas were compiled by his disciple Shāh Ismā'il Shahīd in the form of a book entitled *Ṣirāt-i-Mustaqīm*.¹

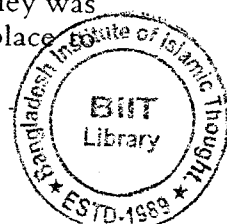
III. HAJJ AND BEGINNING OF THE ORGANIZATION IN BENGAL (1821-1823)

The work of preaching and preparation for the *jihād* continued for the following year (1820). Before embarking upon the *jihād*, however, Sayyid Ahmad decided to perform *hajj*. His financial circumstances do not appear to have made it incumbent on him according to the laws of Islam; but the decision to perform *hajj* had clearly both a reformative and an organizational objective. Since the early eighteenth century some doubts had been gathering in India about the obligatory nature of *hajj* even for well-to-do persons on the ground that journey over the seas had become unsafe due to the piratical activities of the time.

¹ It was printed at Calcutta in 1823. An abstract English translation was published by J.R.C. (J.R. Colvin) in the first volume of *J.A.S.B.*, 1832. Subsequently the work was translated in other languages, including Bengali, which latter was printed at Calcutta in the early sixties of the nineteenth century.

Though the performance of *hajj* had not thereby fallen totally into disuse — Shari'at Allah of Bengal, for instance, having already performed *hajj* twice in the first two decades of the nineteenth century — there was a noticeable disinclination towards its performance among the generality of the people in northern India. By performing *hajj* Sayyid Ahmad intended to put an end to that mistaken attitude. Secondly, the way he arranged the pilgrimage indicates its organizational objective. Thus, instead of making the pilgrimage alone by himself or with a select group of his followers, Sayyid Ahmad gave out a call to his disciples to perform *hajj* enmasse, asking everyone who intended to do so to join him and giving them to understand at the same time that there were no ready funds for the purpose but that every one should be prepared to do some kind of work on the way to earn the cost of the journey to and from Arabia. It may be noted here that such employment was not ultimately needed because of the liberality of many of the Sayyid's disciples and admirers who made sufficient voluntary contributions towards the cost of the pilgrim party and their cause. The organization of such a large scale group-*hajj* was definitely in the nature of a prior exercise in migration for *jihād* which the Sayyid had in view. It undoubtedly enabled him to impress his personality the more effectually on the multitude who followed him to the pilgrimage and bound them the more intimately to his leadership. This is all the more clear from the fact, which is on record, that while in Arabia he renewed the *bay'at* of his followers at the celebrated places of Hudaibiya and 'Aqaba, so memorable in the history of the Prophet Muhammad's (peace & blessings of Allah be on him) struggle against the enemies of Islam. At these two places Sayyid Ahmad took the oath of his companions to follow him in the *jihād*.¹ The route taken by the Sayyid also offered him an opportunity to spread his message and to make disciples in the predominantly Muslim provinces of Bengal and Bihar, then united in one administrative unit under the name of the Bengal Presidency, which he had not hitherto visited. The schedule of his journey was so drawn as to enable him to halt at every important place

¹ M. Ahmad, *op.cit.*, 19,94, quoting *Manzūrat al-Su'adā'*.



disseminate his ideas. The spectacle of a large body of pilgrims under his leadership proceeding by easy stages and holding lectures and discourses wherever they stopped doubtless produced a wave of religious fervour and enkindled unprecedented enthusiasm throughout the regions over which he advanced.

Early in 1821 some four hundred persons assembled at Rai Bareilly for the pilgrimage.¹ With this group Sayyid Ahmad started from that place by the end of July. Mawlawī Muḥammad Yūsuf Phulti was appointed Secretary-Treasurer of the party. Embarking on boats at Dalmeo on 3 August the pilgrims sailed down the Ganges for Calcutta wherefrom they intended to take ships to Arabia. The first important place where the party halted was Allahabad. There they stayed for 12 days. A large crowd of Muslims greeted the pilgrims and made offerings of not less than 20,000 rupees. After short halts at Mirzapur and Chunagarh they arrived at Benares early in September. Sayyid Ahmad had to stay there for more than a month due to the height of the rainy season. During that period he visited several neighbouring localities, making preachings and disciples. Leaving Benares on 14 October they arrived at Azimabad (Patna) on the 19th and stayed there for eight days. At Patna several respectable persons became Sayyid Ahmad's disciples and a small number of them joined the pilgrim party. Proceeding from Patna and making brief halts at Surajgarh, Monghyr, Bhagalpur, Rajmahal, Murshidabad and Hugli Sayyid Ahmad arrived at Calcutta in the middle of November 1821.

His fame and the news of his pilgrim party had already reached Calcutta so that a number of notable Muslims of the city including Munshī Amīr al-Dīn, an attorney of the East India Company and a wealthy merchant, Shaikh Imām Bakhsh and Shaikh Ghulām Husain, both rich merchants, along with others, received the party on their arrival and made arrangements for their stay in the city. The whole party were accommodated in a spacious bungalow with several out-houses, purchased for the purpose by Munshī Amīr al-Dīn, and situated in the heart of the

¹ Of these persons about 250 came from Saharanpur and Phulat; 35 persons came from the region of Delhi under the leadership of Mawlawī 'Abd al-Hayy, and about 100 persons gathered from Bareilly and its neighbourhood.

city.¹ Sayyid Ahmad stayed in Calcutta for three months during which he sent several preaching parties headed by Mawlawī Imām al-Dīn and Mawlawī Najīb Allah, both of Bengal, towards the different parts of the province. Indeed at Calcutta Sayyid Ahmad met with the greatest success in his missionary career. A large number of Muslims from such distant districts as Sylhet, Chittagong and Dhaka came to Calcutta to take *bay'at* at his hands and to accompany him to *hajj*. As a result the number of pilgrims, which had not increased much since the party had left Rai Bareilly, was now almost doubled to 800. A number of non-Muslims also embraced Islam at the Sayyid's hands in Calcutta. Many notables of the city, including the sons of Tipu Sultan, the late Sultan of Mysore, visited the Sayyid and enrolled themselves as his disciples. Shaikh Ghulām Husain, who owned about 40 ships, offered to carry the pilgrims to Jedda and back free of charge; but the Sayyid thankfully declined the offer. Instead, ten of the Shaikh's ships were chartered and paid for. The pilgrims embarked on them in ten batches, each under a guide. Sayyid Ahmad himself with about 150 companions started on the last ship which left Calcutta by the end of February 1822. It was commanded by an Arab captain from Mocha named 'Abd Allah Hadrami.

Sayyid Ahmad reached Makka on 22 May 1822. The holy cities were then under the control of Muḥammad 'Alī Pasha's governor Ahmad Pasha. The arrival of a large party of pilgrims under the leadership of the Sayyid attracted the attention as well of the authorities as that of the other pilgrims from other countries. Sayyid Ahmad naturally took the occasion to explain his ideas to various gatherings of Muslims from the other countries. Two groups of Muslims from Indonesia and Bulgaria are said to have been impressed by his preachings and become his disciples. Shāh Muḥammad Ismā'īl and Mawlawī 'Abd al-Ḥayy had the *Ṣirāt-i-Mustaqīm* (originally written in Persian) translated into Arabic, some copies of which were distributed among the other *hājīs*.²

¹ *Waqā'i' Ahmadi*, 797-:01, quoted in M. Ahmad, *op. cit.*, 86. The spot is at present occupied by the famous Nakhuda Mosque off Chitpur Road.

² M. Ahmad (*op. cit.*, 93, n.5) informs us that a manuscript copy of the Arabic translation of *Ṣirāt-i-Mustaqīm* is preserved in the library of the late Shahzada Abdur Rahim Khan of Tonk.

Two incidents during Sayyid Ahmad's stay in Arabia may be noted as throwing some light on the nature of his movement. While at Mocha on his way to Makka, he came across one Mawlawī Muḥammad Yūsuf of Lucknow who was preaching the *ṣūfī* doctrine of *wahdat al-wajūd* (union of existence). Sayyid Ahmad tried to convince him of the fallacy of his views, but as he would not give up his ideas the Sayyid exhorted his followers to have nothing to do with the Mawlawī.¹ This incident, among others, shows clearly that Sayyid Ahmad was no mystic in the common sense of the word and had little sympathy for the ways of the professional *ṣūfis* of the time. The second incident happened at Madina. There one of his companions, Mawlawī 'Abd al-Ḥaq of Nentani, while preaching against innovations and un-Islamic practices, was apprehended by the authorities of the place on the charge of his being a "Wahhabi".² He was however released after some time. The incident goes to show that there was sufficient similarity between the reform movement of Arabia and that undertaken by the Sayyid as far as the Islamic creed was concerned. It also shows that the authorities at Madina were keeping a close watch on the activity of the Sayyid and his followers.

Sayyid Ahmad and his party stayed in Arabia for a little more than a year and left Jedda for home in July 1823. Stopping at Bombay for a few days they reached Calcutta in October of the same year.³ This time also Sayyid Ahmad stayed in that city for more than a month in order to settle organizational matters. During this period he visited Murshidabad as a guest of Dīwān Ghulām Murtaza of that place. On his way back to Rai Bareilly Sayyid Ahmad also stayed for some days at Patna where this time he made a permanent arrangement for organizing the movement in the Bengal Presidency and for forwarding from thence men and

¹ *Waqā'i' Ahmadī*, 1124, quoted in *ibid.*, 91.

² *Ibid.*, 98. Ahmad rightly points out that the incident might have been the basis for Hunter's assertion (*Indian Musalmans*, 69-71) that in the holy city Sayyid Ahmad was "publicly degraded and expelled from the town."

³ *Makhjan*, f. 103 b, quoted in Q. Ahmad, *Wahhabi Movement in India*, Calcutta, 1966, p. 38.

money for the *jihād*.¹ Wilāyat 'Alī had in the meantime returned to Patna after having completed his studies at Lucknow. At his instance all the members of his family and some other prominent men of the city took *bay'at* at Sayyid Aḥmad's hands. The latter appointed Shāh Muḥammad Ḥusain his *khalīfa* (agent) by a *sanad*, "the only one of its kind extant."² Proceeding from Patna and making short halts at several other places on the way Sayyid Aḥmad returned to Rai Bareilly in the last week of April 1824.

IV. MIGRATION TO THE NORTH-WEST FRONTIER (1825-1826)

Before Sayyid Aḥmad's return to Rai Bareilly Shāh 'Abd al-'Azīz had died at Delhi in 1823. Henceforth the entire responsibility for conducting the reform and *jihād* movement rested upon the Sayyid. For the following twenty months he made intense preparations for the *jihād*, giving rudiments of military training to his disciples and volunteers who began to gather at Rai Bareilly at his call, and acquiring arms for the party. It appears from his letters that his aim was to liberate the land from both the British domination and the oppressive Sikh rule.³ For practical and strategic reasons, however, he decided to migrate to the north-west frontier region and start the struggle for liberation from there. To start the *jihād* from any place in northern India was quite impracticable. The whole of Bengal and Bihar together with some important areas in south India were under the effective control of the British. The princes of central and northern India including Amīr Khān of Tonk and the Nawwāb of Oudh had also become subservient to them as a result of a series of "subsidiary alliances" and other treaties. In the Panjab the Sikh ruler Ranjit

¹ *Bengal Selections*, No. 42, pp. 31-34; J. O'Kinealy, *Calcutta Review*, No. CI, 1870, pp. 82-83. Both Nadawī (*op. cit.*, 218) and Mehr (*op. cit.*, 207-208, n.2) place the event during Sayyid Aḥmad's first visit to Patna on his outward journey for the *hajj*. The information in the *Bengal Selections* and in Kinealy's article has for its support two other near-contemporary accounts - that of Ja'far Thanawarī (S.A., 208) and Abd al-Rahim, *Tazkira-i-Sādiqa*, 112-113, 268, quoted in M. Aḥmad, *op. cit.*, 31, 34-37.

² Q. Aḥmad, *op. cit.*, 31. Q. Aḥmad gives the English translation of its relevant portions (*op. cit.*, 39-41) and further states that Shāh Muḥammad Ḥusain's personal copy of the *Sirat-i-Mustaḡīm* (Patna University Library?) has at its end the Persian *sanad* and that another "Persian copy of the original *Sanad* is still extant and belongs to Mr. Zaid of Sadiqpur, Patna city." (Q. Aḥmad, *op. cit.*, 60, and n. 56). English translation of the *Sanad* is also in *Bengal Selections*, No. 42, pp. 32-34.

³ See Nadawī, *op. cit.*, 357-58, 371; M. Aḥmad, *op. cit.*, 120, 125-126 and Br. Museum Or. MSS. 6635, fols. 27a-27b (Persian correspondence of Sayyid Aḥmad).

Singh was very powerful and openly hostile to the Muslims. Moreover, both Ranjit Singh and the British were allies by virtue of the treaty of Amritsar, 25 April 1809. According to that treaty the former agreed not to cast aggressive eyes towards the east of the Sutlej river, leaving the British free to extend their power upto that river, while he (Ranjit Singh) was left free to seek expansion towards the west and north-west. Under the circumstances to start a *jihād* from any place in northern India was fraught with the danger of simultaneous hostility with the British in the east and the Sikhs in the west. On the other hand, there were still a number of independent chiefs in Sind, Baluchistan and the north-western frontier who had not yet fallen prey to the British or the Sikh ruler. These chiefs were expected to be inclined towards a coalition with the *mujāhids* against the Sikh ruler. Such considerations led Sayyid Ahmad to migrate to the north-west frontier and start the *jihād* from that quarter. He clearly indicated this fact in one of his speeches to the tribal people on arrival at the north-west frontier thus:

"I have been thinking of a place in India where I should take the Muslims and organize *jihād*. Although Hindustan is a sprawling country with an expanse of hundreds of miles, I could not find a suitable place to which I could migrate... Some of your brothers, who happened to be there, told me that if I were to migrate to their country, hundreds of thousands of Muslims would join me, particularly because Ranjit Singh was perpetrating great excesses in their land, putting the local population to severe torture and humiliating and bringing disgrace upon them."¹

By the end of 1825 about two thousand volunteers gathered at Rai Bareilly for migration to the north-west frontier. Of these people a considerable number had come from the Bengal Presidency under the leadership of Mawlawī Wilāyat 'Alī, his brother 'Ināyat 'Alī and Mawlawī Mazhar 'Alī, all the three being from Patna. Other prominent disciples of the Sayyid, like Shāh Muḥammad Ismā'īl and Mawlawī 'Abd al-Hayy of Delhi had also joined the party with various groups of volunteers. With these people Sayyid Ahmad started on his momentous journey in January 1826 (Jamādī II, 1241).² Proceeding by way of Gwalior,

¹ Quoted in Nadawī, *op. cit.*, 379-80. The English rendering is that of M. Ahmad, *op. cit.*, 120.

² Mehr, *op. cit.*, 282.

where the Maratha chief Daulat Rao Sindhia and his brother-in-law and minister Hindu Rao well received the party and allowed them safe conduct through their territory, Sayyid Aḥmad arrived at Tonk. Both Nawwāb Amīr Khān and his son Wazīr al-Daulah showed great respect to the Sayyid, promised their moral and material support for the cause of the *jihād* and persuaded him to bring his family from Rai Bareilly and leave them at Tonk under their care, which was ultimately done. Amīr Khān and Wazīr al-Daulah escorted the party upto Ajmer. From the latter place the *mujāhids* passed on to Hyderabad (Sind). Sayyid Aḥmad invited the Nawwāb of Bhawalpur and other Amīrs of the region to join the *jihād* against the Sikh ruler, but they did not show any inclination for such a coalition with the *mujāhids*. It appears that they so much dreaded Ranjit Singh's power that the idea of measuring arms with him did not appear feasible to them. Moreover, having apparently heard of the *jihād* for the first time they could not fully grasp its purpose and significance. Some of them appear to have even suspected, most probably at the instigation of Ranjit Singh's secret agents, that the Sayyid was trying to entangle them in a war with the Sikhs in order to facilitate the advance of the British towards that region.¹ Being thus unable to get the adhesion of the Sind Amīrs the Sayyid next moved on with his followers to Baluchistan. Its ruler, Mahrab Khān, was then engaged in hostilities with the ruler of Kandahar and expressed his inability to join the projected *jihād* against the Sikhs. Undaunted by such discouraging responses in both Sind and Baluchistan Sayyid Aḥmad went to Afghanistan intending to persuade its rulers to join the *jihād*.

The political situation in Afghanistan and the northwestern frontier region was at that time marked by disunity and jealousy among its rulers and chiefs. The powerful kingdom built by Aḥmad Shāh Abdalī had fast disintegrated after his death in 1773 due mainly to the mutual quarrels and struggles for power among his numerous sons and grandsons. The Abdalīs, or Durrani as they came to be called, had lost their power to the rival Barakzai

¹ *Ibid.*, 307.

tribe. When Sayyid Ahmad arrived in Afghanistan a number of Barakzai brothers held sway over the different regions in Afghanistan. Thus the territory of Kandahar was under Pur Dil Khān (succeeding his brother Sher Dil Khān). Another brother, Dost Muḥammad Khān, held Kabul, Ghazni and Jalalabad region; Peshawar along with the surrounding area was under another brother named Sultān Muḥammad Khān assisted by two other brothers, Pir Muḥammad Khān and Sa'īd Muḥammad Khān; while two other brothers, Yār Muḥammad Khān and Sayyid Muḥammad Khān ruled respectively over Kohat and Hashtnagar. Though all of them brothers, there was no unity among them and their relationships were often marked by jealousy and rivalry. Of these chiefs, Sultān Muḥammad Khān of Peshawar had already been forced by Ranjit Singh in 1823 to acknowledge his suzerainty and to agree to pay yearly tributes. The other tribal chiefs of Samma, Bonair, Swat and Chamla valley were also obliged at times to pay tributes to Ranjit Singh; but the Sikh control over the area was not very effective, the tributes being realized more or less by occasional raids.

Sayyid Ahmad arrived at Kandahar on 1 September 1826. The Afghans of the place showed appreciable enthusiasm for the projected *jihād*; but its ruler, Pur Dil Khān, considered the development as a threat to his personal position. Hence he asked Sayyid Ahmad to leave the country. Nevertheless, some four hundred people volunteered to accompany him. He selected and took with him two hundred and seventy of these Afghans under the command of one Sayyid Dīn Muḥammad of Kandahar.¹ Proceeding by way of Ghazni Sayyid Ahmad and his companions next came to Kabul. There he stayed for fortyfive days and attempted to effect a reconciliation among the Barakzai brothers and to unite them in a common front against the Sikhs; but all his attempts were of no avail against the deep-rooted selfishness and mutual animosities of those chiefs. At last he left Kabul and reached Peshawar by the end of November 1826. Instead of attempting to win over the chiefs alone, he now decided to make

¹ *Ibid.*, 335.

an appeal direct to the people of the region. For that purpose he went from Peshawar to Charsada and Hashtnagar. The Pathan tribes of the locality showed encouraging enthusiasm for his mission. Even its Barakzai ruler, Sayyid Muhammad Khān, feeling the pulse of his people, visited Sayyid Ahmad and took *bay'at* at his hands. The conversion of Sayyid Muhammad Khān and the Pathan tribes of Charsada and Hashtnagar was the first major success of the Sayyid in the northwest frontier region. He had at last obtained a *locus standi* and his volunteer corps, now joined by the Pathans, increased to a sizeable army. In the meantime a few other batches of volunteers from north India and Bengal reached the northwest frontier so that by the end of 1826 there were about 12,000 persons under his command.¹

V. THE FIRST CONFLICTS WITH THE SIKHS (1826-1827)

Ranjit Singh had been keeping an eye on the movements of the *mujāhids*. As soon as he found that Sayyid Ahmad had got a foothold in the northwest frontier and was joined by some tribal people, the Sikh ruler acted promptly. He sent his general Budh Singh with about 10,000 well trained soldiers to nip the coalition in the bud. The Sikh forces encamped at Akora, eight miles south of Nawshera on the river Lunda. Sayyid Ahmad, after having consultations with his chief followers, decided to confront the Sikh army. Before doing so, however, he addressed an ultimatum to Ranjit Singh, in accordance with the Islamic law of warfare, calling upon him either to embrace Islam, or to surrender to the Muslim forces, or to be prepared to fight to the end. Needless to say, no reply was given by Ranjit Singh to this ultimatum. Budh Singh's army were trained by European military experts and were incomparably much better equipped. Sayyid Ahmad was aware of this and was also fully conscious of the fact that much depended upon the outcome of the first conflict with the Sikhs. Accordingly he decided upon a surprise attack. On the early morning of 21 December 1826, a party of nine hundred selected *mujāhids* under the command of Allah Bakhsh Khān suddenly fell upon the Sikh camps from the rear. The surprise of the Sikhs was complete.

¹ S.A., 96.

After continuing the onslaught for about two hours, in the course of which about seven hundred Sikh soldiers were killed, the *mujāhids* returned to their camp. They lost only 82 of their number.¹ The Sikh army was so demoralized that Budh Singh withdrew a few miles.²

The news of this successful expedition against the hitherto dreaded Sikh forces spread quickly throughout the frontier region. Those of the tribal people and their chiefs who had hitherto been wavering in their attitude towards Sayyid Ahmad's mission now hastened to join him. Prominent among those who now joined the Sayyid were Khade Khān of Hand, his relative Ashraf Khān of Zaida, and Fath Khān of Panjtar. The sudden accession of these chiefs and their people to the ranks of the *mujāhids*, however, posed a serious problem of discipline and unity; for the tribal chiefs were jealous of and hostile to one another. Many of the tribal people were also actuated more by the prospect of successful raids and plunder than by the high ideals which the Sayyid and his "Hindustani" followers had set before themselves. Such selfish motives were illustrated soon enough. Early in 1827, at the insistence of the new confederates, an expedition was undertaken against the commercially and strategically important Sikh outpost of Hazu in Campbellpur district, 7 miles north of the Indus in that part. The Sikh army was defeated in the engagement; but instead of consolidating the victory the tribal people took to plundering in a rather disorganized fashion. This gave an opportunity for the Sikhs to make a counter-attack. The Muslims were obliged to beat a hasty retreat which could have been a disastrous rout but for the cover given by a party of "Hindustani" *mujāhids* sent timely as reinforcement by the Sayyid who had not himself taken part in the expedition. Three days afterwards the Sikhs made an attempt to dislodge the Muslims from their advanced position but were beaten back with heavy loss.³

¹ Nadawī, *op.cit.*, 460-462.

² *Beng. Pol. Cons.*, 30 March 1827, No. 27.

³ See M. Ahmad, *op.cit.*, 172-173.

VI. ESTABLISHMENT OF THE KHLĀFAT (1827)

The experience of the last campaign and the daily increasing number of followers suggested the need for establishing a unity of command and an organized administration for prosecuting the *jihād* in a more systematic way. Hence at a conference of the chiefs and their people, attended also by the personal followers of the Sayyid, held in Jamādi II 1242 (February 1827), the latter was elected *Khalīfa* and *Imām* of the confederated people and their territories. All the chiefs present took the oath of allegiance to the Sayyid as their *Khalīfa* and *Imām*. It was agreed that while supreme command of the forces and the direction of the *jihād* movement in general should vest in the *Khalīfa* and *Imām*, the chiefs would administer their respective territories as units of the *Khilāfat* and would furnish specified funds and number of men for the *jihād*. The Friday *khutba* was also read in the name of the *Khalīfa* throughout the newly established caliphal state.¹

In his capacity as *Khalīfa* Sayyid Ahmad now sent letters to all the other chiefs in the frontier region and the Muslim rulers of Afghanistan, Central Asia and India explaining the objectives of the *Khilāfat* and calling upon them to join the *jihād* against the oppressive Sikh regime.² In these letters he also referred to the occupation of India by the British, implying that the ultimate object of the *jihād* was to liberate the land from the British occupation as well.³ Clearly indicating this aspect of his movement he even addressed a letter to Hindu Rao, minister of the Maratha chief Dawlat Rao Sindhia of Gwalior, and asked his support for the war of liberation.⁴ Excepting Nawwāb Wazir al-Daulah of Tonk, however, none else seems to have responded to the call. The latter expressed his desire to go to the frontier but was told to stay in his territory and to send instead financial help and volunteers.⁵

¹ See M. Ahmad, *op.cit.*, 169-179; Mehr, *op.cit.*, 373-74; Q. Ahmad, *op.cit.*, 48-49.

² Nadawī (*op.cit.*, 433) gives a list of rulers and notables to whom letters were sent.

³ *Ibid*; also the Persian correspondence of the Sayyid, B.M.MSS., Or. 6635 Fols. 27a-27b, quoted in Hardy, *Muslims of British India*, Cambridge, 1972. For a facsimile of the Sayyid's letter sent to Sayyid Muhammad Jami and others of Rai Bareilly see M. Ahmad, *op.cit.*, 176.

⁴ Nadawī, *op.cit.*, 357-358; also tr. and quoted in M. Ahmad, *op.cit.*, 125-126.

⁵ Mehr, *Jamā'at-i-Mujāhidin*, 189-90, quoted in Hafiz Malik, *Moslem Nationalism in India and Pakistan*, Washington, 1963, p. 171.

Shortly after the establishment of the *Khilāfat* Sayyid Ahmad sent back from the frontier a number of his learned and capable disciples like Mawlawīs Wilāyat ‘Alī and ‘Ināyat ‘Alī of Patna and Sayyid Muḥammad ‘Alī of Rampur to “Hindustan” in order to propagate the ideas of *jihād* and send men and money for the purpose to the frontier. Wilāyat ‘Alī carried out his mission for sometime in Hyderabad (Sind) where he wrote and distributed a treatise on the *Khilāfat*. ‘Inayat ‘Alī went to the Bengal Presidency, while Sayyid Muḥammad ‘Alī worked mainly in northern India. Other able lieutenants carried on similar preaching and organizing activities in Bombay, the Deccan and central India. These workers established a highly effective system for the transmission of men and money to the frontier. Volunteers were forwarded in small and unostentatious batches and money was carried by trustworthy couriers. Both these operations were assisted by agents stationed at regular stages on the way. As a result recruits and money began to flow to the north-west frontier.

Sayyid Ahmad had by now under his command a considerable force variously estimated at between 80,000 and 100,000 in number.¹ His growing power and influence induced Sultān Muḥammad Khān, Pīr Muḥammad Khān and Yār Muḥammad Khān of the Peshawar and Kohat region and some other chiefs of the Yusufzai territory to render their allegiance to the Sayyid. The *Khilāfat* now appeared to be a viable entity - its territory extending from the borders of Afghanistan in the west to those of Kashmir in the east. The adhesion of the above mentioned Barakzai brothers, particularly of Sultān Muḥammad Khān and Yār Muḥammad Khān, was however an act of convenience forced on them by the circumstances. They were never sincere in their allegiance to the Sayyid. They apprehended that the success of the *Khilāfat* would eventually spell disaster to their personal hegemony. Hence, almost from the beginning of their outward adhesion to the *Khilāfat* they secretly worked for its ruin and entered into treasonable contact with the Sikh authorities for the purpose.

¹ *Beng. Pol. Cons.*, 30 March 1827, Nos. 32 & 34.

VII. BAD FAITH OF THE TRIBAL CHIEFS:
ATTEMPTS TO ENFORCE SHARĪ'AT

The insincerity of the tribal chiefs was proved soon enough. After the first conflict at Akora and the following two minor engagements the Sikh army under Budh Singh had entrenched themselves at Shaidu, at some distance to the south of Akora. It was now decided to attack the Sikhs at Shaidu. Accordingly in March 1827 an expedition was led against the latter. In the battle that followed Budh Singh was killed and the *mujāhids* were on the point of victory. At that moment, however, Yār Muḥammad Khān, who had already come to a secret understanding with the Sikhs, deserted the battlefield with his contingent. It was also found out that at his instance Sayyid Aḥmad had been poisoned so that he was no longer able to command the forces. As a result great confusion ensued in the ranks of the *mujāhids* who were beaten back with a loss of about six thousand of their men.¹

After the disaster at Shaidu Sayyid Aḥmad passed his convalescence for sometime at Chingh where a number of his followers including Mawlawī Wilāyat 'Alī's younger brother, Tālib 'Alī, aged 18 years, died of disease and privation. This was followed by the loss of another trusted companion, Mawlawī Muḥammad Yūsuf of Phulat who died at Kotgram in April 1827. The condition of the *mujāhids* continued to be desperate for want of funds and provisions till the arrival of men and money under Aḥmad Allah of Patna in the middle of the year. Early in July 1827, Sayyid Aḥmad removed his headquarters from Hand to Panjtar, the territory of Faṭḥ Khān, which lay further to the north and was strategically better situated. Next Sayyid Aḥmad toured the Swat and Bonair area with a view to enlisting the support of the people of those regions for *jihād* against the Sikhs. The people of those places were very much harassed and oppressed by Hari Singh Nawla, Ranjit Singh's governor of Hazara. Hence they readily responded to the Sayyid's call. Towards the end of 1827 he sent Shah Ismā'īl on several reconnoitering expeditions into the border areas of the Sikh occupied Hazara district.

¹ Mehr, *op.cit.*, 391; also Hafiz Malik, *op.cit.*, 172.

Since his desertion at Shaidu Yār Muḥammad Khān had become openly hostile to the *jihād* movement. He began to obstruct and harass the recruits coming from "Hindustan" and passing through his territory. One Muḥibb 'Alī, who is said to have come at the head of some 600 recruits, was so much annoyed at the obstructions he met with that he questioned the propriety of Sayyid Aḥmad's assumption of caliphal authority and returned with some of his followers to northern India where he engaged himself in preaching against Sayyid Aḥmad and his policies. Muḥibb 'Alī's hostile propaganda was of course ably countered by the Sayyid's disciples; but this seems to be the beginning of the cleavage which ultimately led to the division of the reformers into the "Delhi Party" and the "Patna Party" after the Sayyid's death.¹ Be that as it may, Sayyid Aḥmad now concentrated his attention on consolidating his position in alliance with the friendly chiefs. For that purpose he undertook another series of tours throughout the area. It was in course of one such tours that another of his trusted disciples, Mawlawī 'Abd al-Ḥayy (son-in-law of Shāh 'Abd al-'Azīz) died at Khahar on 24 February 1828. In the meantime Yār Muḥammad Khān did not stop at merely preventing the passage of recruits through his territory. Instigated by the Sikh authorities he, along with other Barakzai chiefs, began to carry on raids on the tribes allied with the Sayyid. The latter now found it necessary to take up arms against Yār Muḥammad Khān and his allies. In an engagement at Uthmanzai in May 1828, the Sayyid indeed inflicted a defeat on the Barakzais; but he could not march upon Peshawar as he intended to do because of the defection of some tribesmen.

The fickleness and insincerity of the tribesmen convinced the Sayyid that in order to secure their effective and sincere cooperation and to make the *Khilāfat* really meaningful it was necessary first of all to reform their character and society by making them conform to the teachings and principles of Islam. He noticed that except for their lip-service to Islam, those tribal people were far removed from its teachings in their practical life.

¹ See Obaidullah Sindhi, *Shāh Waliullah awr unki Siyasi Tahrik*, quoted in Malik, *op.cit.*, pp. 324-325, n. 58.

Apart from their neglect of such obligatory duties as daily prayers (*ṣalāt*) and fasting in the month of *Ramaḍān*, they were steeped in a number of vices and bad customs. For instance, when a man died his widows were divided among his brothers as so many chattels. A girl was not given in marriage, nor allowed to join her husband unless her father received a stipulated amount from the bridegroom, which was often very high. The Sayyid therefore decided to enforce *sharī'at* in the *Khilāfat*. Indeed his object in waging the *jihād* was not merely the liberation of the Muslims from foreign and oppressive domination but also the reformation of their society and life. In other words, he sought the establishment of not merely a state for the Muslims, but an Islamic state in the true sense of the term. Hence at a conference of the '*ulamā*' held on 6 February 1829 and attended by his followers and the allied chiefs, including Khade Khan of Hand, Faṭḥ Khan of Panjtar and Ashraf Khan of Zaida, it was unanimously decided to enforce *sharī'at* in the *Khilāfat*. The above mentioned chiefs specifically pledged themselves to do so within their respective territories and reiterated their allegiance to the Sayyid.¹ It was further decreed by the '*ulamā*' present in the conference that disobedience to the *Khalīfa* was a capital sin, that it was the obligation of all persons to support the *Khalīfa* in quelling any insurrection and that in an encounter with any insurrectionists those who died fighting for the *Khalīfa* would achieve the status of martyr.² In pursuance of the resolutions of the conference *Qādīs*, *Muḥtasibs* and other officers were soon appointed in different areas to see that the people conformed to the teachings and injunctions of Islam.

VIII. GROWING INTERNAL DISSENSIONS: THE BATTLE OF BALAKOT

This attempt to reform the life of the tribal people and to achieve greater unity, however, recoiled upon the Sayyid himself. The tribesmen did not submit with good grace to the restrictions that a conformity with the rules of *sharī'at* imposed on their otherwise indisciplined and unbridled life. Some of the officers

¹ Mehr, *op.cit.*, part II., 56; Malik, *op.cit.*, 174.

² *Ibid.*

entrusted with the task of enforcing *sharī'at* also often rode roughshod over the sentiments of the people and acted indiscreetly. The application of the Islamic system of taxation and the realization of the *zakāt* by especially appointed officers came in conflict with the economic interests of the traditional *mullahs* who had hitherto been in charge of making such collections and thus profiting a good deal for their own selves. These *mullahs* therefore set their face against the system and did their most to foment popular discontent. A good deal of misunderstanding also was caused by some "Hindustani" *mujāhids*' marrying tribal girls. Such acts came in conflict with the clannish spirit of the tribal people who considered it disgraceful for them that their girls married outsiders. All these causes created a strong tribal feeling against Sayyid Ahmad and his followers which was further fanned by Ranjit Singh's secret agents. Added to these were the fickleness and mutual jealousies of the tribal chiefs themselves.

Khade Khān of Hand, who had been present in the above mentioned conference and who had specifically undertaken to enforce *sharī'at* in his territory now not only fell short of his promise but turned positively hostile. He had been slighted by the transfer of the *jihād* headquarters from his territory (Hand) to Panjtar, the territory of his personal rival Fath Khān. Khade Khān also found the enforcement of *sharī'at* against his personal interests. He soon entered into secret negotiations with the Sikhs and began to obstruct the passage of recruits through his territory. With the help of the Sikh general Ventura Khade Khān even launched an attack on Panjtar. The attack was repulsed; but Sayyid Ahmad now found it necessary to put an end to his hostility. Accordingly an expedition was led against Hand in August 1829. Khade Khān was defeated and killed in the ensuing battle. To demonstrate that it was not his intention to occupy the Hand territory, Sayyid Ahmad made it over to Khade Khān's relatives. But this measure, instead of pacifying the latter, only gave them an opportunity to take revenge upon Sayyid Ahmad. They now effected an alliance with the hitherto hostile Yār Muhammad Khān of Kohat. Their combined forces marched against the *mujāhids* but were defeated with heavy losses at Zaida

in September 1829. Yār Muḥammad Khān, the leader of the coalition, was killed in the battle.

Sayyid Aḥmad's military successes against Khade Khān and Yār Muḥammad Khān did not however strengthen his political position any the better. For, with the death of Yār Muḥammad Khān the hostility of his brother Sultān Muḥammad Khān of Peshawar and the whole of the Barakzai tribe, now in alliance with the relatives of the deceased Khade Khān, was a foregone conclusion. Moreover, Ranjit Singh did not fail to take full advantage of this internal dissension. He promptly sent a contingent of 700 select Sikh troops to the aid of Sultān Muḥammad Khān who, in cooperation with the relatives of Khade Khān, occupied Hand. Throughout the year 1830 Sayyid Aḥmad's strategy was to combat the hostilities of Sultān Muḥammad Khān on the one hand and to prepare the way for moving to Kashmir and making it the base of his operations. The population of the latter territory were almost entirely Muslims and were making appeals for help against the oppressive Sikh regime. If Sayyid Aḥmad succeeded in moving into that territory his position would have been unquestionably improved. The prospect of doing so also appeared bright because the chiefs of the neighbouring territories of Kaghan and Chitral, Zamān Shāh and Sulaimān Shāh respectively, expressed their allegiance to the Sayyid and promised him all help.

The way to Kashmir, however, lay through Amb whose ruler Painda Khān, refused to cooperate with the Sayyid. When all negotiations failed Sayyid Aḥmad led an expedition against him and forced him to enter into a submissive alliance. After having completed all these arrangements Sayyid Aḥmad sent an advance expedition towards Kashmir under the command of his nephew Aḥmad 'Alī in June 1830. Ranjit Singh was not however unaware of this move on the part of the *mujāhids*. He sent a large army under the command of General Allard to effect a junction with the forces under Hari Singh Nawla, governor of Hazara, and prevent the entry of the *mujāhids* into Kashmir. The combined Sikh army made a surprise attack upon the latter at Fulera and completely defeated them, killing their commander Aḥmad 'Alī

in the action. In the meantime Sultān Muḥammad Khān kept pressing on from the rear and attacked Mayar, a stronghold of the *mujāhids*. Sayyid Aḥmad realized that there could be no possibility of success against the Sikhs unless Sultān Muḥammad Khān's hostility was stopped. Accordingly the Sayyid marched at the head of 7000 forces against Peshawar. Sultān Muḥammad Khān made a submission which the Sayyid accepted, much against the advice of his followers. He was doubtless actuated by a desire to avoid shedding the blood of fellow Muslims, but his mistake was soon evident. For, as soon as he withdrew from Peshawar Sultān Muḥammad Khān resumed his hostilities. Early in 1831 he, assisted by the Sikhs, attacked all the nine important military outposts in the region, which the *mujāhids* had still under their control, and captured them one by one within the course of a week. In the face of these developments Sayyid Aḥmad made a desperate move towards Kashmir via Chumla valley. He was however confronted by a very large Sikh army under the command of Sher Singh. After some skirmishes the Sikhs attacked the *mujāhids* at Balakot on 6 May 1831. Sayyid Aḥmad and his trusted lieutenant Shāh Ismā'il, along with a number of others fell fighting and the *mujāhids* were defeated with heavy losses.

IX. CAUSES OF FAILURE & NATURE OF THE MOVEMENT

Thus came to an end the first phase of the reform and liberation movement initiated by Sayyid Aḥmad. Considering all the facts it cannot be said that his attempt was something impracticable or a mad venture. Indeed, for sometime at least the *Khilāfat* appeared to be a viable entity with a considerable fighting force at its disposal which succeeded in inflicting major defeats upon well trained and large Sikh armies as also upon the recalcitrant chiefs. Sayyid Aḥmad's ultimate defeat was due not to any inherent impracticability of his attempt but to the fact that the tribal chiefs with whose cooperation he sought to carry on the struggle for liberation did not understand the value of unity and confederation and could not therefore raise themselves above parochial considerations and personal jealousies. Their fickle-mindedness and treachery and the consequent internal dissensions

exhausted much of the strength of the *mujāhids* on the one hand and offered the much desired opportunity for the Sikh ruler to play one group against the other. The discontent arising out of the enforcement of *sharī'at* and the marriage of "Hindustani" *mujāhids* with tribal girls was a subsidiary factor in so far as such discontent found a scope to grow only in the context of the tribal situation. Militarily, the Sikh army was of course much better trained and better equipped; but then, given the unity and sincere cooperation on the part of the confederated chiefs, the struggle would not probably have ended the way it did. Apparently the tribal chiefs disliked the restrictions upon their independence which the interposition of the *Khilāfat* involved; but this, again, does not wholly explain the situation; for the chiefs like Yār Muḥammad Khān and Sulṭān Muḥammad Khān seemingly preferred acknowledging Ranjit Singh's authority and paying him occasional tributes to acting as equally if not more independent units of the *Khilāfat*. The lack of truly Islamic spirit on the part of the tribal chiefs, their mutual jealousies and personal rivalries and their inability to realize the ultimate danger of foreign domination with which the land was threatened thus appear to be the primary causes of Sayyid Aḥmad's failure.

Though fighting against the Sikh ruler, Sayyid Aḥmad's movement was not directed against the Sikhs or the non-Muslims as such. His struggle was directed against the oppressive Sikh rule. This is quite clear from his letter to the Maratha noble Hindu Rao in which the latter's help was sought in the struggle and in which he was reminded of the ultimate danger to which the land had been exposed. Actuated as the Sayyid was by the higher ideal of liberating the land from foreign and oppressive elements, he did not find it inconsistent to seek the cooperation of the Hindu chief who was assured at the same time that once the country was liberated each chief would be free to rule his territory. The pattern of political system implicit in the Sayyid's approach was a union (or confederation) of all the chiefs and peoples against the forces of oppression and foreign domination and that when the land was liberated from these elements the Muslim and non-Muslim chiefs and peoples should be free to regulate their affairs within the

framework of that union without interfering with or seeking to dominate over the other. In modern terminology, his political ideal seems to be that of a "true federation" (or confederation) which, in view of the subcontinent's demographic and cultural features was bound to emerge in course of time and did in fact emerge during the subsequent discussions and struggle for freedom from British rule. In this respect Sayyid Ahmad's approach was perhaps in advance of his time.

Sayyid Ahmad's letters and writings clearly indicate that his ultimate aim was to extend the liberation struggle against the British occupation. That he first directed his attention against the Sikh regime and made the northwest frontier region his base of operations was for strategic reasons and for the fact that the nature of the Sikh regime in relation to the Muslims called for immediate action. It may be noted that in the later part of the nineteenth century, when the British authorities rounded up and punished the *jihād* leaders, many of them including the famous Ja'far Ahmad Thāneswarī and other Muslim leaders like Sir Sayed Ahmad Khan of Aligarh emphatically asserted that the *jihād* was not directed against the British but that it had for its target only the oppressive Sikh regime. Needless to say that such protestations were essentially apologetic having for their object saving the Muslims from the wrath of the British rulers. Later writings which deny any anti-British character for Sayyid Ahmad's programme of action are more or less an echo of that nineteenth century apology. There is no denying the fact, however, that the *jihād* movement as it developed after Sayyid Ahmad's death was directed against the British Indian authorities.

Whether the British Indian authorities were from the beginning aware of the anti-British objective of the movement is doubtful; but they were definitely aware of the migration of Sayyid Ahmad and his followers, and subsequently of other batches of volunteers and their concentration on the northwest frontier. In fact the British India government's representative at Ranjit Singh's court kept the former regularly informed of the movement of the *mujāhids* on the frontier and their confrontations with the Sikh forces. It is also noteworthy that shortly after

the Sayyid's death the British official entrusted with the task of investigating Tītu Mīr's movement in south-west Bengal in the same year (November 1831) brought to public notice through the columns of the newly started *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* the ideas of the *mujāhids* as contained in the *Ṣirāt i-Mustaqīm*.¹ It would even appear that the British Indian authorities, in pursuance of the policy of keeping Ranjit Singh busy in the west so that they could in the meantime complete the subjugation of the Maratha, the Pindari and other chiefs of northern and central India, connived at the movement of the volunteers for the *jihād* towards the northwest frontier.² After Ranjit Singh's death and the British occupation of the Panjab the *mujāhids* stood face to face with the British Indian government and the latter knew their hostile intentions. Since then the movement of volunteers from within the empire and their activities on the frontier came to the notice of the authorities from time to time; but being not quite aware of the extent and ramifications of the movement within the empire they continued to treat the matter as essentially a frontier issue. When, however, in the late sixties they came to know the details of the *jihād* organization in some of the British Indian provinces, particularly the Bengal Presidency, they began to refer to it as "the seditious movement within the empire."

Sayyid Aḥmad's movement had two distinct aspects: reform of the Muslim society by removing the accumulated corruptions, superstitions and innovations and, for that purpose, the establishment of an Islamic state by means of active *jihād*. He was actuated solely by a sense of duty and obligation as a true Muslim and not at all by any personal consideration or ambition. In both the above mentioned aspects his movement bore a close resemblance to that initiated earlier in Arabia by Shaikh Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Waḥḥāb. Indeed, because of this similarity between the two the British Indian authorities came to refer to the *jihād* movement as

¹ *J.A.S.B.*, Vol. I., 1832. The article was written by "J.R.C.", which initials evidently stand for J.R. Colvin, the officer who investigated the Barasat uprising under Tītu Mīr.

² The policy was officially embodied in the Treaty of Amritsar, 1809. Like many of the Muslim chiefs on the frontier, Ranjit Singh also could not realize the ultimate danger from the side of the British who, shortly after his death, grasped the Sikh dominions.

“the Indian Wahhabi movement.” And just as the *jihād* leaders and their well-wishers denied, during and after the period of prosecution and trials in the late nineteenth century, the anti-British nature of the movement, so also they denied having any connection with the Arabian movement, tracing the origin of the *jihād* movement instead to the teachings of Shāh Wali Allah and his son Shāh ‘Abd al-‘Azīz of Delhi. Sayyid Ahmad’s connection with the Delhi scholars — his having studied there and for sometime even acting in close connection with Shāh ‘Abd al-‘Azīz cannot be overlooked; but this fact seems to have been over-emphasized of late and the distinctiveness of the *jihād* movement from the reform movement in Arabia has been sought to be brought home by pointing out some minor differences in matters of detail between the two.

The truth seems to be that Sayyid Ahmad’s movement was influenced partly by the Delhi school of thought and partly by the Arabian reform movement. Such a conclusion emerges if we carefully analyze the main points hitherto made by those who consider the *jihād* movement as nothing but a manifestation of the Arabian movement and by those who deny any connection with the latter. British Indian officials like T.E. Ravenshaw, J.O’ Kinealy and W.W. Hunter, who did the most to popularize the expression “Indian Wahhabi Movement”, established a connection between the two by stressing Sayyid Ahmad’s pilgrimage to Makka during 1822-23 when he is said to have imbibed what was called “the Wahhabi ideas”. Opponents of the view state in reply that the idea of *jihād* had already been formulated in the *Ṣirāt al-Mustaqīm* composed before the pilgrimage to Arabia and that by the time Sayyid Ahmad visited Makka and Madina the Arabian reformers had already lost political control of the two cities.

The common mistake under which the proponents of both these views seem to have laboured is the assumption, implicit in their approach, that nothing but a physical contact with or visit to Arabia could have enabled the Sayyid to imbibe the ideas of reform current there. Needless to say that Arabia in general and Makka and Madina in particular, being the cradle and centre of Islam, were the direction to which Muslims in all countries and at

all times turned not only their faces at least five times a day but also their minds for constant guidance and inspiration. And inspite of all the stresses and strains of the time there is nothing to suggest that the intellectual contact of the '*ulamā*' class of the subcontinent with Makka-Madina had at any time been completely severed. Shāh Wali Allah himself, founder of the Delhi school of thought, was a contemporary of the Arabian Shaikh, both having been born in the same year (1703), though the former died about thirty years earlier (1763) than the latter. Shāh Wali Allah also went on a pilgrimage to Makka and stayed there and in Madina in the early thirties of the eighteenth century specifically to improve his knowledge of the Islamic sciences. And if there was no personal contact between the two, it is not unreasonable to assume that they both drew inspiration from such common sources as the writings of Shaikh Ibn Taimiyyah (1263-1328).

In any event, the stir created by the movement of Shaikh Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Wahhāb, particularly Ibn Sa'ūd's onslaughts against the Turkish authorities in Arabia leading to the capture of the two holy cities early in the nineteenth century, and the causes and purposes underlying those momentous developments, could not have remained unknown to knowledgeable circles in India, specially the group of '*ulamā*' at Delhi who had engaged themselves in the task of regenerating Islam in the subcontinent. Throughout those eventful years parties of pilgrims from the subcontinent kept on visiting Arabia and bringing in news and views about the developments there. Sayyid Aḥmad himself, as already mentioned, sailed to Makka in a ship belonging to a Calcutta Muslim merchant and captained by an Arab from Mocha.

It is also noteworthy that before Shāh 'Abd al-'Azīz declared India under British and Sikh rule a *dār al-ḥarb*, and before Sayyid Aḥmad and his associate Shāh 'Isma'īl formulated their ideas of *jihād* in the *Sirāt al-Mustaḳīm*, the Arabian reform movement, with its active *jihād*, had already scored its first resounding success and had sufficiently attracted the attention of the world of Islam as a whole. Viewed in this context, Shāh 'Abd al-'Azīz's declaration of India a *dar al-ḥarb* and the formulation of the concept of *jihād*

in the *Ṣirāt al-Mustaqīm*, closely following in point of time the remarkable developments in Arabia, the seat and centre of Islam, would appear in an altogether different light as an impact of the latter. Moreover, the fact that the Arabian reformers had been militarily ousted from the holy cities by the time Sayyid Aḥmad visited those places did not mean that the ideas of reform also totally vanished from there. It is also noteworthy that Sayyid Aḥmad, according to one report, carefully avoided identifying himself with the Turkish authorities then in control of the holy cities and gracefully declined the offer of money and hospitality offered by the latter.¹ Also, one of the Sayyid's followers, as mentioned already, was temporarily apprehended for his having preached ideas that appeared to the authorities similar to those of the Arabian reformers. Last but not least, it is remarkable that the method adopted by Sayyid Aḥmad resembled closely that of the Arabian Shaikh. Like the latter, the former also attempted at first to win over a ruling prince (or some ruling princes) to the cause in order to conduct the *jihād* and bring about the much desired socio-political revolution.

It has sometimes been suggested that the British Indian authorities purposely applied the term "Wahhabi" to the *mujāhids* in order to persecute them and make them unpopular with the generality of the Muslims of the subcontinent. When the movement was unearthed in the late sixties the authorities did indeed make all efforts to punish the leaders and to isolate them from the rest of their countrymen; but there is no evidence to suggest that the term "Wahhabi" was applied for that purpose. Moreover, the assumption is faulty in two ways. In the first place, the term "Wahhabi" was applied to the *mujāhids* not at the time of the investigation and trials, but much earlier, at least in the forties of the century when the Superintendent of Police of the Lower Provinces (east Bengal) even referred to the *Farā'idīs* as "Wahhabis".² Secondly, the assumption presupposes the existence of a general antipathy of subcontinental Muslims towards the

¹ Mehr, *op.cit.*

² See *supra*, p. 336.

Arabian reform movement which is not at all substantiated by the facts.

With regard to the difference between the Arabian and the "Indian" movements it has been pointed out that while the former adhered to the *Ḥanbalī* school of the law, the latter followed the *Ḥanafī* school. This "difference" is only a matter of detail in comparison with the basic and essential points of similarity respecting the emphasis on *tawhīd*, the abandonment of all innovations and superstitions, the absolute need for conforming to *sharī'at* and the active *jihād*. It may be noted in this connection that Ḥajī Sharī'at Allah, about whom there is no doubt of his having lived amidst the Arabian reformers while they were in control of the holy cities and who was clearly influenced by the Arabian reform movement, also followed the *Ḥanafī* school in matters of detail and in doing so he even differed from other *Ḥanafīs* over the question of the saying of *Jumua'* and *'Id* prayers in Bengal. According to one report, even Mawlawī 'Abd al-Ḥayy and Shāh Muḥammad Ismā'il, the two most trusted lieutenants of the Sayyid, held different views on the question of *taqlīd*.¹ Such "differences" in matters of detail, though worth noting, should not be pressed too much to prove that the *jihād* movement, and for that matter similar Islamic reform movements, were totally isolated developments.

Another point which has recently been brought forward to show the distinction of Sayyid Aḥmad's movement is his supposed "Ṣūfism". One author writes: "Sayyid Aḥmad's world was suffused by Ṣūfism and so were his teachings. Indeed he describes his path as *tarīqa-i-Muḥammadiya*, the Muḥammadan mystical path... Before he went on Ḥajj in 1821, he preached a reformed sufism, purged of shirk...."¹ Sayyid Aḥmad did not preach a "reformed sufism" nor was he a Sūfī. Ṣufistic and mystic qualities appear to have been attributed to him by his successors and admirers who even made a Mahdī of him, fondly believing that he would reappear to lead them to final victory. The meaning of the term *tarīqa-i-Muḥammadia* is not "Muḥammadan

¹ P. Hardy, *op.cit.*, pp. 52-53.

mystical path" but simply "the way of Muḥammad" (peace and blessings of Allah be on him), that is the *Sunnah* and *sharī'at*. The term, as pointed out earlier, was used not to found a new *ṣūfī* order, but to emphasize the supremacy of *sharī'at* and the *Sunnah* over the prevailing *ṣūfī* orders and to make this fact easily understandable to the mass of Muslims who were then really engrossed in sufistic ideas. "Tariqa-i-Muhammadiyah" was not and has never been any recognized *ṣūfī* order. A careful perusal of the *Ṣirāt-i-Mustaqīm* would reveal that the Sayyid tried all through to establish the supremacy of the *Sunnah* and *sharī'at* over the ways of the mystics.¹ "And the pleasure of God can be had", he writes, "only by following the luminous *sharī'at*, for, every path other than that of the Prophet leads the traveller astray to the blind valley of infidelity and denial of God. Hence anyone making a claim to the contrary is a perverse liar... Whereas, *bi'at-i-Imāmat* (oath of allegiance to follow an Imām) is meant to fight for the sake of God and dominance of the *sharī'at*. This, if attempted without the least trace of self-glorification or love of power, honour or riches is known as *jihād* in religious parlance, and is the highest form of a man's submission to the Will of God as none of the religious observances and forms of prayer can be equal to it in attaining the spiritual possibilities of the human state."² Thus, far from being a mystic or *ṣūfī*, Sayyid Aḥmad was a man of action and a firm upholder of the *sharī'at*. It may be recalled that while in Arabia he denounced the *ṣūfī* doctrine of *wahdat-al-wajud* and asked his followers to have nothing to do with such mistaken ideas.

Apart from the fact that all reform movements among Muslims would have some basic similarity in so far as the common sources of inspiration as well as the objective are the Qur'ān and the *Sunnah*, the *jihād* movement should be viewed, on the one hand, against the background of the socio-political circumstances of the subcontinent and, on the other, in the context of the religio-intellectual atmosphere of the Islamic world in general, and Arabia in particular. The Islamic intellectual circles

¹ See specially pp. 58-60 of the *Ṣirāt-i-Mustaqīm* (Calcutta, 1823).

² MSS *Maktubāt*, pp. 70-72, quoted in M. Ahmad, *op.cit.*, pp. 39-40.

in the subcontinent had never lost touch with the latter. Such differences as are noticeable in matters of detail are the product of the peculiar environment in which the *jihād* movement took place and also of the influence of the personality and character of the leader and his followers. For one thing, almost as a reaction to the nineteenth century British official class's extreme interpretation of the *jihād* movement as nothing but an off-shoot of the Arabian movement, in the last half a century there has grown the other extreme trend of treating the movement as almost exclusively emanating from the teachings of Shāh 'Abd al-'Azīz and his illustrious father. In this process even the contribution of Sayyid Aḥmad's own personality and character has been totally overlooked. When that aspect is carefully investigated, it would perhaps appear that if the movement initially owed a good deal to the Delhi scholar, its actual development after the latter's death owed no less to the personality and ideas of Sayyid Aḥmad himself, specially after his return from Arabia. The latter added much more to the movement than Shāh 'Abd al-'Azīz had ever conceived. Muḥibb 'Alī's allegation that the Sayyid had committed a mistake by establishing the *Khilāfat* in the northwest frontier and the subsequent division of the reformers into the "Delhi Party" and the "Patna Party" might be better explained in the context of these dual influences. In that respect the impact of the Arabian experience would seem to have a greater relevance to the Sayyid's lines of action than has hitherto been acknowledged.

CHAPTER XIV THE ORGANIZATION IN THE BENGAL PRESIDENCY

I. THE SITUATION AFTER BALAKOT

The death of Sayyid Aḥmad and Shāh Muḥammad Ismā'il together with a large number of the *mujāhids* at the battle of Balakot left the remnant of them bewildered and scattered. The Sayyid had impressed his personality upon his followers so deeply and had instilled in them such a confidence in the ultimate success of their mission that a good many of his surviving companions could not persuade themselves readily to accept the fact of his death. As it happened in more recent times with regard to a number of political leaders¹, many of the Sayyid's followers came to believe that he had only disappeared in the midst of the battle and that he would reappear at an appropriate moment to lead them to victory. There were others, however, who did not try to find solace in the theory of his disappearance and accepted his death as a hard fact.

This difference in the attitudes in fact crystallized over the important question of whether to continue the armed struggle or not. Already since Muḥibb Alī's defection there existed some difference of opinion among the *mujāhids* regarding the Sayyid's political programme, particularly the establishment of the *Khilāfat* and his assumption of the title of *Imām*. This difference had remained more or less suppressed during his lifetime. It now came to the surface. It so happened that those of his more ardent followers who believed in the theory of his disappearance were also those who were in favour of continuing the *jihād*. The others who believed in his death held the view that in the absence of the *Imām* there was no justification for continuing the armed struggle.

Prominent among the Sayyid's surviving companions on the frontier who subscribed to the theory of disappearance were Muḥammad Qāsim of Panipat, Nāṣir al-Dīn of Mangalore, Mawlawī 'Abd al-Ḥalīm of Burdwan (Bengal) and Aulād 'Alī of

¹ Such was the case, for instance, regarding Subhas Chandra Bose, the Bengali Congress and revolutionary leader in the thirties of the twentieth century and Hitler, the German dictator.

Surajgarh (Bihar); while Shaikh Walī Muḥammad of Phulat, who was selected as leader of the *muḥājids* shortly after the battle of Balakot, seems to have belonged to the other group and was not very keen in continuing the *jihād*.¹ From among the deceased leader's *Khalīfas* and followers who were away in "Hindustan" Mawlawi Wilāyat 'Alī of Sadikpur (Patna) and the group attached to him strongly upheld the theory of disappearance and stressed the need for continuing the *jihād*. On the other hand Mawlānā Muḥammad Ishāq of Delhi, who had hitherto acted as the channel for the transmission of funds and recruits to the frontier, headed the group who rejected the theory of disappearance and were opposed to the policy of continuing the armed struggle. It took some time for this difference of opinions over the question of continuing the *jihād* and the division of the *muḥājids* into two distinct groups of activists and passivists to take their final shapes. When that happened by the middle of the thirties the two groups came to be referred to as the "Sadikpuri of Patna Party" and the "Delhi Party" respectively. The theory of disappearance of the Sayyid, though it thus came to be associated with the question of continuance of the *jihād*, was essentially a sincere emotional reaction on the part of many of his followers, and not a calculated fraud intended merely to keep alive the spirit of the *jihād*, as has sometimes been supposed.² Like all other emotional reactions, however, this one also lost much of its force with the passage of time and activists like 'Ināyat 'Alī and Ja'far Thāneswarī seem to have modified their opinions on the subject in course of time.³

At the time of the battle of Balakot Muḥammad Qāsim was away at the head of an advance party of *muḥājids* in an expedition to Muzaffarabad, well inside the border of Kashmir. Similarly Mawlawī Nāṣir al-Dīn Mangalori was away with a party of about 30 persons guarding a hill pass at Bhogramang. Hearing the news of the disaster of Balakot they returned from their respective places and joined the rest of the *muḥājids* near Balakot. The party, numbering about 700, then moved under the leadership of Shaikh

¹ Mehr, Vol. IV., 124; M. Ahmad, *op.cit.*, 286, 301; Q. Ahmad, *op.cit.*, 79.

² See for instance W.W. Hunter, *The Indian Muslims*, pp. 39-40.

³ See Sawanih-i-Ahmadi, 179-80, also quoted in Q. Ahmad, *op.cit.*, 77-78.

Muhammad Walī to Takhtband in Bonair where its friendly chief offered shelter to the Sayyid's family. For about four years after that the *mujāhids* had to struggle very hard for their existence in the area. They moved from place to place, such as Nandihar, Panjtar and Amb, seeking the support and cooperation of the chiefs of those places. These latter, while at times outwardly extending their cooperation, really wanted to use the *mujāhids* either to extend their (the chiefs') personal influence or to settle old scores with their rivals. Such was specially the case with the chiefs of Panjtar (Fath Khān) and Amb (Painda Khan). Naturally the *mujāhids* did not want to play that game and hence found themselves in the long run at enmity with those chiefs. By the end of 1834 or early in 1835 they moved on to Sittana. Shaikh Muhammad Walī and a small group attached to him now became lukewarm in their support for the *jihād* and concentrated their attention to conducting the family of the Sayyid from Takhtband to Sind where some other members of the family had been living for sometime. They accomplished this task in 1836-37. After Shaikh Muhammad Walī's departure for Sind the *mujāhids* rallied themselves under Nāṣir al-Dīn Mangalorī. About that time Fath Khān of Panjtar had definitely turned hostile to the *mujāhids* and had begun obstructing the passage of volunteers and supplies through his territory. His hostilities culminated in 1837 in an armed conflict with him. In that conflict, however, the *mujāhids* were defeated and Mawlawī Nāṣir al-Dīn Mangalorī was killed. Mawlawī 'Aulād 'Alī was then elected leader of the *mujāhids* on the frontier.

II. THE PATNA HEADQUARTERS AND OTHER CENTRES IN BIHAR

During this crucial period the *mujāhids* on the frontier were sustained by the inflow of men and money from British India and other parts of Hindustan. This work was done by Mawlawi Wilāyat 'Alī of Patna, assisted by his younger brother 'Ināyat 'Alī and a group of devoted persons of that place. They were strongly bound together by ties of convictions as well as by those of blood and marriage. For more than a quarter of a century after Balakot Wilāyat 'Alī (1205-1268/1790-1852) and his group were the

organizing spirit behind the whole movement. Their contribution to the cause of the movement is only comparable to and in some respects even surpasses that of the founder of the movement, Sayyid Aḥmad Shahīd.

Wilāyat 'Alī had been out on a preaching tour in Hyderabad, Deccan, when the news of the disaster of Balakot reached him. He immediately returned to Patna where his younger brother 'Ināyat 'Alī also had returned a little earlier from a similar missionary tour in Bengal. Their father, Fath 'Alī, had been seriously ill and died about the same time. Undaunted by this dual calamity the 'Alī brothers now applied themselves whole-heartedly in the cause of the movement. On receiving detailed communications from persons like Muḥammad Qāsim on the frontier about the battle of Balakot and the "disappearance" of the *Imām* Wilāyat 'Alī immediately subscribed to the latter view out of sincere conviction. He wrote letters to a number of his disciples to this effect and also a booklet on the subject in order to keep up the spirit of the *jihād*.¹ For the following decade the 'Alī brothers worked hard to set up a permanent organization for the movement in the Bengal Presidency on the one hand, and to continue the military struggle on the frontier and elsewhere as opportunities offered themselves. For convenience of discussion the organizational aspect of their work is noted in the present chapter. It is to be remembered that this work progressed along with the other manœuvres related in the following chapter.

The most important feature of the organizational work of the 'Alī brothers was the establishment of a net-work of district or local centres throughout Bengal and Bihar, with Patna as the headquarters, with a view to ensuring a continued supply of men and money for the movement. Each of these local units was placed in charge of a trusted and trained agent who usually was a prominent man of the locality commanding influence and respect and was also well-versed in *Qur'ān* and *Ḥadīth*. Often he was *Imām* of the local mosque or a teacher of a madrasa, or both combined in himself. He was entrusted with the task of

¹ *Selections*, No. 42, p. 131. The pamphlet was entitled *Risāla-i-Da'wat*. Subsequently it was published in a collection of his writings under caption *Risāla-i-Tis'a*.

instructing the people in the principles of Islam, educate the younger generation, infuse in them the ideas of *jihād*, undertake preaching tours not only in his own locality but also in other districts and, in general, to make collections of money and recruit volunteers and transmit them through established channels to Patna wherefrom they were to be forwarded to the northwest frontier.

The headquarters of the movement were the family residence of Wilāyat 'Alī in the Sadikpur locality of Patna. It consisted of a number of spacious buildings flanked by a mosque and enclosed by a wall.¹ Here the central committee of the movement, headed by Wilāyat 'Alī, met and discussed policy matters, decided upon the lines of action and made all arrangements concerning the prosecution of the *jihād*. Recruits and workers were received here, and an efficient system was evolved for their instruction and training. Regular lectures and classes in Qur'ān and *Hadīth* and other branches of Islamic learning were organized within the precincts of the mosque and other out-houses of the residence, which also served the purpose of rest-houses and halting-places for the recruits on their way to the frontier. The more educated and intelligent ones of the recruits were trained up as preachers and organizers, while the less educated ones were forwarded to the frontier after instructing them in the basic principles of Islam and the aims and objects of the *jihād*. The leaders also went there, participated in important military undertakings, and after staying there for a period returned to the "plains" to boost up the work of preaching and organization. Most of the important leaders and workers were given assumed names, the more important ones having more than one such name. Similarly an elaborate system of code-words and deceptive expressions were evolved to carry on a rather extensive correspondence with various local centres and workers. For instance, the work of *jihād* was generally expressed as *kārobār* (business), the Patna centre as *chhota godown* (the small warehouse), the settlement at Sittana-Mulka on the frontier as *Bara godown* (the Big Warehouse), a *qāsid* or messenger as a

¹ The buildings were subsequently razed to the ground by orders of the British Indian authorities. The site is at present occupied by the old Patna city municipality.

baypāri (trader), the *jihād* fund as *bait al-māl* or *Qīmat-i-Kutub* (price of books) or, sometimes, as shoes; a silver rupee was referred to as a white-bead, gold mohurs as red-beads, etc.

The central body of the movement consisted mainly of the members and relatives of three families of Patna, all of whom were from among the early disciples of Sayyid Aḥmad Shahīd. These were the families of Fath 'Alī, Muḥammad Ḥusain and Ilāhī Bakhsh.¹ Mawlawīs Wilāyat 'Alī, 'Ināyat 'Alī and Farḥat Ḥusain (also called Farḥat 'Alī) were sons of Fath 'Alī.² Muḥammad Ḥusain had no male issue, but only five daughters. One of these daughters was married to 'Ināyat 'Alī. Ilāhī Bakhsh had four sons - Mawlawī Aḥmad Allah, Mawlawī Faiyaz 'Alī, Mawlawī Yahyā 'Alī and Akbar 'Alī. The last named died at an early age. These people and their sons and grandsons together with some others formed the central body of the *jihād* organization.³ One of the leaders from outside these three family circles was Mawlawī Mubārak 'Alī of Muzaffarpur who became Wilāyat 'Alī's disciple at an early age and settled at Patna. Both Muḥammad Ḥusain and Wilāyat 'Alī had been appointed *Khalīfas* (representatives) by Sayyid Aḥmad himself who also gave them authority to appoint their *Khalīfas*. Muḥammad Ḥusain concerned himself chiefly with preaching and educational activities connected with the movement and had his base at the Nanmohia mosque at Patna. After Sayyid Aḥmad's death Wilāyat 'Alī, by virtue of his organizing and other qualities, emerged as the leader of the movement and

¹ This Ilāhī Bakhsh is to be distinguished from two other persons of the same name - one a convert from Hinduism and later on appointed Assistant in the Police department at Patna, and the other a Mukhtiyar (petty lawyer) of the Calcutta hide-merchant and *jihād* organizer Hashmdad Khan.

² As noted earlier, Fath 'Alī died in 1831. He had another son, the third after 'Ināyat 'Alī, who died earlier. See *Beng. Judl. Prods.*, November, 1864, No. 24.

³ Wilāyat 'Alī had six sons: 'Abdullah, Hidayat 'Alī, 'Abd al-Rahmān, 'Abd al-Karīm, Muḥammad Hasan, Muḥammad Husain.

'Ināyat 'Alī had one son: 'Abd al-Majīd (Ḥafīz 'Abd al-Majīd).

Farḥat Husain had 2 sons: 'Abd al-Rahīm and 'Abd al-Rauf; and four daughters. Of these daughters, the first two were married respectively to Wilāyat 'Alī's sons 'Abdullah and Hidayat 'Alī; the third to Yahyā 'Alī (son of Ilāhī Bakhsh and brother of Aḥmad Allah).

Mawlawī Aḥmad Allah had four sons: 'Abd al-Ḥamīd, Muḥammad Yaḳīn, 'Abd al-Qādir, 'Abd al-Ḥakīm and Raḥmat Allah.

Faiyaz 'Alī had no issue.

Yahyā 'Alī had 3 sons: 'Isā, Mansūr (or Mūsā) and Yūsuf.

All these persons played prominent parts in the movement.

was readily accepted as such by all the others including Muḥammad Ḥusain. Wilāyat 'Alī was called the *Amīr* of the movement. He was assisted by a central committee, the members of which were each entrusted with specific tasks like finance, training and transmission of recruits, etc. In fact, from the very beginning Wilāyat 'Alī was careful to evolve a system and an organization for the movement. This fact accounts for the continuance of the movement for more than forty years after Sayyid Aḥmad's death. After the final departure of Wilāyat 'Alī and 'Ināyat 'Alī for the frontier in the early fifties of the nineteenth century their other brother, Farḥat Ḥusain, became the *Amīr* at Patna. He died shortly after 'Ināyat 'Alī's death in 1858. Thereafter Mawlawī Yaḥyā 'Alī and Mawlawī Aḥmad Allah became the *Amīrs* in succession. After their arrest, trials and deportation in 1864-65 Mawlawī Mubārak 'Alī became the leader at Patna. He was arrested and tried in 1870-71, after which the *jihād* movement practically came to an end except in its academic aspects.

Of the local centres in Bihar Dinapur, lying at a distance of about 15 miles from Patna, Surajgarh in the Monghyr district and Muzaffarpur in north Bihar were the most important. The chief agent at Dinapur was Mawlawī Maqṣūd 'Alī. He was well-versed in Qur'ān, *Ḥadīth* and the rules of *sharī'at*. He proved to be a very active and efficient assistant of the 'Alī brothers under whose instructions he undertook extensive preaching and organizing tours in Bihar and Bengal. It was Maqṣūd 'Alī who converted the famous Ibrāhīm Mandal of Islampur (Malda-Rajmahal) to the cause of the *jihād* movement.¹ Maqṣūd 'Alī was assisted at Dinapur by other important workers like Ḥājī Pīr Muḥammad, Ḥājī Dīn Muḥammad, Khuda Bakhsh and 'Alī Ḥusain Wakīl. Surajgarh, lying almost half-way between Patna and Malda in Bengal was a link between the latter and the Patna headquarters. Surajgarh supplied a number of devoted men for the movement. Mawlawī Aulād 'Alī, the leader of the *mujāhids* on the frontier, hailed from Surajgarh. Similarly the famous preacher and organizer Mawlawī Nazīr Ḥusain was from the same place. He

¹ See below.

was subsequently posted at Delhi to look after the work at that place.¹ One of his cousins, 'Abd al-Ghanī, was the most important *qāsid* of the movement. He carried money and correspondence from Dhaka in the east to Peshawar in the west, and back, visiting the intermediate stations and the headquarters at Patna throughout the period. During the investigations and trials of the sixties he braved all hazards, skilfully evaded all police attempts at detection and arrest and carried on the work till the last moment. At Muzaffarpur the chief worker was at first Mawlawī Mubārak 'Alī. Later on he went to Patna and joined hands with the leaders there. His work at Muzaffarpur was carried on by Aḥmadullah Sāheb, assisted by Ḥafiz Ja'far 'Alī, Mawla Bakhsh and others.² At this place "all the people,big or small" were stated to be disciples of Mawlawī Wilāyat 'Alī and they contributed "almost 12,000 Rupees annually for the expenses of the Jihad."³

III. THE ORGANIZATION IN BENGAL

In the main, however, Bengal formed the flesh and blood of the movement. Wilāyat 'Alī and 'Ināyat 'Alī showed great insight in concentrating their attention on this area for establishing an elaborate net-work of local centres for preaching the doctrine of *jihād*, collecting funds and securing recruits. Their efforts were remarkably successful. Indeed, the call for the *jihād* found the widest response in this land. This was so for a number of reasons and circumstances. Foremost among them was of course the demographic features of the land. It may be noted that except for the region now constituting Pakistan, in which the then prevailing tribal chieftaincies and the Sikh rule had militated against the spread of the *jihād* movement there, Bengal was the only region in the subcontinent where Muslims formed the predominant element in the population and where, due to a long history and tradition, Islamic spirit had been deep-rooted.

Secondly, it was also this area which, of all other places in the subcontinent, had first passed under the English domination. This

¹ See below.

² *Beng. Judl. Prdgs.*, July, 1869, No. 185.

³ *Ibid.*

fact made it specially relevant to the concept of *dar al-ḥarb*, the theoretical foundation of the *jihād* movement. It is noteworthy that the emissaries of the movement could not for obvious reasons penetrate the area under effective Sikh rule; while Sind, Baluchistan and the frontier region generally were under independent Muslim chiefs. Even Hyderabad (Deccan) and Oudh were till then under nominal Muslim rulers. Hence it was very difficult to bring the concept of *dar al-ḥarb* home to the people of those parts. The *mujāhids* did of course try to draw the court-circles in Hyderabad to the cause; they also got some hospitality with one or two chiefs in Sind. These facts need not be overlooked and have been dealt with in the following chapter. What is worth noting here is that so far as making a popular basis for the movement was concerned the most that could be done in those places, and that which was actually done there, was to work on the impending threat of their territories passing under the control of non-Muslims and thus eventually becoming *dār al-ḥarb*. No such difficulty was to be faced in Bengal in propagating the concept of *dār al-ḥarb*.

Thirdly, the gap that existed between the British rulers and the rural masses in Bengal, particularly the inadequacy and inefficiency of the police and judicial administration in the rural areas, made it almost hazardless for the *jihād* emissaries to move about and propagate their views without any great risk of being detected and apprehended. An added cover of security was provided by the nature of their work which, to an outside observer, would appear innocuous "religious" activities. The "Mawlawīs" and "Hājīs" who were engaged in the work were out and out "religious" preachers and they almost always communicated their ideas and message through religious idioms and allusions which could not be easily understood by the non-initiates. Fourthly, some aspects of the British rule like the zamindary and the indigo planting system, as noted before, had fallen very heavily upon the socio-economic life of the rural masses, particularly the Muslim peasantry. They longed for liberation from those oppressive systems and were only eager to respond to any call which offered the slightest prospect for that.

Indeed, when the movement was unearthed in the late sixties, it was found that many of the recruits from Bengal had been induced to join the *jihād* on an understanding that when the country was liberated from the British there would be no zamindar or indigo planter over them and that they would have free enjoyment of their lands.¹ Last but not least, the ground for the popularity of the movement had been largely prepared by Titu Mīr's movement and the *Farā'idī* movement, both of which prospered in a considerable degree due to the socio-economic factor alluded to above. The 'Alī brothers thus found a rather ready-manured soil in Bengal to cast the seeds of the *jihād* movement there. It would be seen presently that a number of the more zealous *jihād* leaders and workers in Bengal, not to speak of common recruits, were from the areas that had witnessed the two above mentioned movements as well.

(a) *Calcutta and its hinterland (24-Parganas)*

The first place in Bengal where the movement got a foothold was the capital city of Calcutta itself where, it may be recalled, Sayyid Ahmad had stayed longer than² at any other place in course of his missionary tours and where a larger number of people became his disciples and accompanied him to *hajj*. Two such early disciples were Mawlawī 'Abbās 'Alī (also called Muḥammad 'Abbās), a man originally from Muhammadpur in the Jhinaidah subdivision of Jessore,³ and Mawlawī Zain al-'Ābedīn, originally from Sylhet.⁴ They accompanied Mawlawī Wilāyat 'Alī to Hyderabad when he went there on preaching missions in the early thirties, continued to stay there when the latter came back from that place, and were ultimately mainly responsible for the Mubariz al-Daulah episode which constitutes the climax of the activities of the *mujāhids* in Hyderabad.⁵

Not long after Sayyid Ahmad's death Wilāyat 'Alī visited Calcutta and appointed Badī' al-Zamān, a rich merchant in the

¹ See *Beng. Judl. Prods.*, November, 1868, No. 168.

² Three months prior to his departure for *hajj* and 2 months on his way back home from Arabia.

³ See 'Umed 'Alī's statement, *Beng. Judl. Prods.*, April 1869.

⁴ See *Patna Report*, para 89.

⁵ See below.

Misriganj locality of the city, his *Khalīfā*. For about two decades Badī' al-Zamān organized the movement in the city, coordinated the activities of the other agents in the surrounding districts, collected funds for the *jihād* and transmitted them to the Patna headquarters. It was largely through his efforts and financial support that the famous Misriganj mosque of Calcutta was built. That mosque served as the meeting place of the leaders and workers of the movement in those parts, as well as an important preaching centre. During the late forties Badī' al-Zāman was joined in the work by Amīr Khān and Hashmatdad Khān (also called Hashmdad Khan) of Colootolah, Calcutta. These two persons were originally from Patna but were settled in Calcutta where they carried on an extensive hide-trade. Amīr Khān was a very rich hide-merchant having agencies in almost all districts in Bengal and Bihar. In course of time he became the principal banker of the movement, through whom extensive funds collected in lower and central Bengal, particularly in the districts of 24-Parganas, Jessore, Nadia, Pabna, Faridpur and Barisal were transmitted to the Patna headquarters.¹ Skins of beasts sacrificed during the 'Īd al-Adḥa festival were sold and their proceeds were usually donated for the purpose of the *jihād*. This fact, as the investigating officer Reily observed, "probably led to the association of hide merchants with this movement, or rather induced proselytes to the new doctrines to trade in hides and in shoes."²

Next to Calcutta, in respect of both time and place, was its hinterland, the district of 24-Parganas which came within the orbit of the movement. Here the movement found a good response and a number of local agents took up its cause. That district had earlier been the scene of Tītu Mīr's activities. The violent suppression of his movement by government military intervention resulting in his death with a number of his followers and the punishment of a number of the others, necessarily left a deep scar in the minds of those of others of his followers and the Muslim population of the area generally who escaped the government's wrath and retribution. Finding their attempt at

¹ See *Queen vs. Amīr Khan*, in Sutherlands *The Weekly Reporter* Vol. XVII (1871), pp. 15-32.

² *Malda Report*, para 7; also *Rajmahal Report*, para 13.

reform and emancipation thwarted in their own locality many of these people naturally turned their attention to the movement which had a similar objective but which had its visible field of manifestation and operation outside the jurisdiction of the British Indian rulers. Already while submitting his report about the "Barasat disturbances" in March 1832, J.R. Colvin observed that there were many followers of the *jihād* movement in the district who were not otherwise Tītu Mīr's disciples.¹ After Tītu Mīr's death many of his disciples joined the *jihād* movement.

Significantly enough, it was Tītu Mīr's own village, Chandpur, which provided the leading *jihād* agent in that district during the period following Tītu Mīr's death. This person was Mu'azzam Sardar, a *talukdār* and owner of considerable *lākharāj* lands yielding a comfortable annual income. He came in contact with the movement early in the thirties, accompanied Mawlawīs Wilāyat 'Alī and 'Ināyat 'Alī to the frontier in the early forties, took part in several fightings there, came back to his district from time to time, carried on preaching tours in his own as well as in the neighbouring districts of Jessore, Faridpur and Barisal, organized other local agents, collected both recruits and funds for the movement and also acted as an important *qāsid*, along with Husaini of Patna, in carrying correspondence and money from Calcutta through Patna to Delhi and Thaneswar.² Mu'azzam Sardar was indeed a remarkable man, being a skilful preacher, an active fighter on the frontier, an efficient organizer and a trustworthy *qāsid*, all of which functions he performed equally well under the pseudonym of 'Abdullah. One of the influential men of the locality whom he succeeded early in converting to the cause was Ḥājī Nazīr al-Dīn of Palaspur, a village some miles away from Chandpur.³ Ḥājī Nazīr al-Dīn and his son Mawlawī Ibrāhīm organized the movement in their own locality. It is on record that Ḥājī Nazīr al-Dīn used to send his collections for the

¹ Colvin's Report, para, 7.

² Muazzam Sardar's statement before the Patna Sessions Court, 19 June 1871, E.O.M., 24 June 1871, p. 8.

³ Statement of 'Uthman 'Alī before the Patna Sessions Court, 21 June 1871, E.O.M., 1 July 1871.

jihād through Mua'zzam Sardar.¹ Naẓīr al-Dīn's son Mawlawī Ibrāhīm was an efficient preacher who propagated the ideas of the *jihād* in his as well as in the neighbouring districts. He also joined the 'Alī brothers in the fightings on the frontier and was killed in a battle there early in the sixties.

Another local centre in the 24-Parganas district was Waffapur (now in the Satkhira sub-division of Khulna district) where Mawlawī 'Uthmān 'Alī was the agent. He studied at the Calcutta Madrasa and came in contact with the leaders of the movement in that city. He met Mawlawī 'Ināyat 'Alī there early in the forties and also subsequently in the interior of the district.² 'Uthmān 'Alī likewise came in contact with Amīr Khān and Hashmatdad Khān of Calcutta and entered the hide business, setting up a hide-godown in his own village, Waffapur. He organized the movement in his own locality, frequently visited the other local centres in his own district as well as in the district of Jessore and also carried on preaching work in Barisal and Faridpur. He also went to Patna in connection with the forwarding of men and money for the *jihād*. Many of the Patna leaders like Faiyaz 'Alī and the *qāsid* 'Abd al-Ghanī visited him at his village.³ 'Uthmān 'Alī acted in close cooperation with the more important centre of Hakimpur, 50 miles east of Calcutta (now in the Satkhira sub-division of Khulna district).

At Hakimpur Mawlawī Sirāj al-Dīn and Ḥājī Mofīz al-Dīn were the chief organizers. Mofīz al-Dīn was a brother-in-law (wife's brother) of Ḥājī Naẓīr al-Dīn of Palaspur. It was at Mofīz al-Dīn's house that Mawlawī 'Ināyat 'Alī usually stayed when he visited those parts.⁴ Next to Mu'azzam Sardar of Chandpur, Sirāj al-Dīn of Hakimpur was the most important organizer of the *jihād* movement in Khulna and parts of the 24-Parganas district. In his statement before the Patna sessions Court on 23 June 1871 he revealed some interesting facts of his life thus:

"I became Inayat Ali's disciple in 1243 B.S. [1835-36]. I went to Patna with him in 1250 [1843]. Then I went with him to Kaghan in the same

¹ Mu'azzam Sardar's statement, *op. cit.*

² 'Uthmān 'Alī's statement before the Patna Sessions Court, 21 June, 1871, *op. cit.*

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ *Ibid.*

year. The Lord Saheb took us and other prisoners, and sent us to Patna. I came down with Willayat and Inayat. I do not remember exactly in what year this was, but it was four or five years after our going up.¹ I remained two months in Patna, and then went home where I stopped for four years. Then I went to Sittana. This was, I think, in 1257 B.S. I found both Willayat Ali and Inayat Ali there. I remained in Sittana for four or 4½ years. I left Inayat Ali there.... When in Kaghan I was a fighting man, but during a fight which took place at Ashra, while I was at Sittana, I had charge of the powder magazine, and did not join the fight. In Kaghan I was a Risaldar, and had charge of the ammunition. At Sittana too I used to ride on horseback."²

After returning from Sittana Sirāj al-Dīn did not in fact sit idle. He, along with Qāri Umed 'Alī of Barisal remained at Delhi during the outbreaks of 1857 and afterwards, and set themselves up as book-sellers and publishers, under cover of which they carried on the work of the movement there.

(b) *Jessore, Faridpur and Pabna*

In addition to Calcutta and its hinterland (24-Parganas) the districts of Jessore, Faridpur and Pabna also were included in the organizational net-work early in the period. It appears that beginning from Calcutta the movement took firm root first in the neighbouring districts of south and central Bengal. In Jessore Mawlawī Raiḥān al-Dīn, Naẓīr (Record-keeper) of the district judge's court, became a disciple of Wilāyat 'Alī early in the thirties. For about twentyfive years he worked for the movement, spreading the ideās of *jihād* in his district and collecting men and money for it. Funds collected in Jessore and Faridpur districts were first sent to Naẓīr Raiḥān al-Dīn who then arranged for their transmission to Patna. Working in close cooperation with him but in some ways more resourceful and active was Mawlawī Nāṣir al-Dīn of Aurabunia, in the same district. He was a product of the Calcutta Madrasa and met Mawlawī 'Ināyat 'Alī for the first time in the Misriḡanj mosque in that city.³ Subsequently 'Ināyat 'Alī came to Nāṣir al-Dīn's village of Aurabunia twice, and stayed at his house. On the second occasion 'Ināyat 'Alī stayed at Aurabunia for a month. This was on the eve of his departure for

¹ This happened in fact in 1847. See below.

² Sirāj al-Dīn's statement, 23 June 1871, *E.O.M.*, 1 July 1871, p. 9.

³ Nāṣir al-Dīn's statement before the Patna sessions court, 23 June 1871, *E.O.M.*, 1 July 1871,

the frontier (in 1843).¹ On that occasion he took away with him to the frontier Nāṣir al-Dīn's brother Baṣīr al-Dīn.² The latter also had met 'Ināyat 'Alī at Calcutta in Fenwick Bazar. Baṣīr al-Dīn remained with the *mujāhid* forces commanding the 12th regiment till the end, returning to Aurabunia from time to time. Nāṣir al-Dīn organized the movement in lower Jessore and sent his collections regularly for some years to Badī' al-Zamān of Calcutta, then directly to Patna, and for some years through Qāzī Miyān Jān of Pabna.³ Towards the end of the fifties Nāṣir al-Dīn himself proceeded to the *jihād* on the frontier where he took part in opposing the British forces at Sirhutty pass and at Ambela. Before going to the frontier he had sent sixty recruits from his locality to the *jihād*.⁴ After remaining on the frontier for four years Nāṣir al-Dīn returned home. Both he and Naẓīr Raiḥān al-Dīn had a number of subordinate workers and assistants to help them organize the movement in the district.

The chief disciple of Wilāyat 'Alī and 'Ināyat 'Alī in Faridpur was Mawlawī 'Irfān al-Dīn, son of Barakat Allah, of Patharghata. Stating in 1871 'Irfān al-Dīn disclosed that he came in contact with Wilāyat 'Alī in Calcutta "about 30 years ago".⁵ This would place the event in the early forties at the latest. Subsequent to the first contact with Wilāyat 'Alī, 'Irfān al-Dīn met also 'Ināyat 'Alī in the Colinga mosque in Calcutta.⁶ Still later on, the latter came to Patharghata on the eve of his going to the frontier. This last visit was about the same time when he visited Nāṣir al-Dīn at Aurabunia for the second time in 1843. 'Irfān al-Dīn states:

"He ['Ināyat 'Alī] said he was going to Khorasan to fight against the Kaffirs, and that those who devoted life and property to this work would obtain salvation... He appointed Nasseeroodden [Nāṣir al-Dīn] and me as *khaleefas* to collect zakat and fitra, and told us to send them to Badeeoozama [Badī' al-Zamān] at Calcutta, and to Nazir Rahanoodeen [Raiḥān al-Dīn] at Jessore. I collected and sent to Calcutta for four years. I

¹ *Ibid.* Also *Patna Report*, para 90. See also below.

² Ravenshaw's Memorandum, *Bengal Selections*, No. 42, pp. 142-44.

³ See below.

⁴ *Patna Report*, para 90.

⁵ 'Irfān al-Dīn's statement before the Patna magistrate, 9 March 1871, *E.O.M.*, 22 March 1871, p. 4, col. 4. Also *Patna Report*, para 93.

⁶ 'Irfān al-Dīn's statement before the Patna Sessions Court, 24 June 1871, *E.O.M.*, 1 July 1871, p. 11, Col. 1.

sent yearly after the Ramzan... I sent the money by my cossid Fyazooddeen... After four years I sent it to Rehanooddeen of Jessore for four years. Then I did not send for one year. After that Moulvie Ibrahim of Palaspur came to our country, and preached and showed a written order. He told me to continue to collect, as I had been ordered. Enayet Ali was then dead. I know Moulvie Gurreeboollah. He lives near me. He has gone to *jihad*. I started him. Three men went with him, viz., Afazooddeen, Wallee Mahomed, and Badoolah. After Ibrahim's departure I sent the fitra and zekat to Ameer Khan of Calcutta..."¹

This statement of 'Irfān al-Dīn is important as showing not only the links between the different district centres but also the fact that the influence of the *jihād* movement penetrated at least the western parts of the district of Faridpur during the lifetime of Ḥājī Sharī'at Allah (d. 1840). It also shows that the various centres in the districts of 24-Parganas, Jessore, Khulna, Faridpur (and also Pabna) came into existence in the thirties and early forties of the nineteenth century, i.e., within the decade following the battle of Balakot. It is noteworthy in this connection that Mawlawī Sirāj al-Dīn of Hakimpur categorically states that he became a disciple of 'Ināyat 'Alī in 1243 B.S., i.e., 1834-35 and went with him to Kaghan in 1250 B.S., i.e., in 1843. It was also in the latter year that 'Ināyat 'Alī visited 'Irfān al-Dīn and appointed him a *khalīfa*. Prior to that 'Irfān al-Dīn had already met Wilāyat 'Alī once in Calcutta and also Ināyat 'Alī at another time in Calcutta.

About the same time the *jihād* movement found its most active and remarkable worker in central Bengal in the person of Qāzī Miyān Jān of Kumarkhali, Pabna district. The latter was indeed the leading organizer in central Bengal. Funds and recruits from that part of the country were forwarded through him. He was a very effective preacher, an active *mujāhid* and a coordinator of a large number of local units. He was the first *jihād* leader in Bengal to be apprehended in 1864 when, according to the findings of the court, the largest number of letters and other documents connected with the movement were discovered in his house. It was also discovered that he had three or four aliases by which he was known among his compatriots. He was tried along with Ja'far Thāneswarī, Muḥammad Shafī' and others at Ambala in 1864 and

¹ *Ibid.* See also *Patna Report*, para 93.

was sentenced to life imprisonment.¹ Hd died in the Ambala prison shortly afterwards.

It is noteworthy that many of the district agents mentioned above first came in contact with the movement at Calcutta, specially in course of their studies at the Madrasa there. This was also the case with the agents hailing from the southern district of Barisal. Umed 'Alī, son of Maḥmūd 'Alī of Tarachar, Pargana Muladi of Barisal district, went to Calcutta in the early thirties for studies and there came in contact with the movement.² Later on he, along with a fellow student from the district of Faridpur, accompanied Mawlawī Wilāyat 'Alī to the frontier in the early forties.³ When the Patna leaders were sent by the British authorities in the Panjab back to Patna in 1847 Umed 'Alī, along with another Barisal agent named Mawlawī Amīn al-Dīn, came back with the leaders and stayed at Delhi. Amīn al-Dīn was a senior disciple of Wilāyat 'Alī's. He and Umed 'Alī remained at Delhi till Wilāyat 'Alī once again proceeded to the frontier via Delhi in the early fifties. At that time he specifically appointed Amīn al-Dīn and Umed 'Alī as agents at Delhi to look after the forwarding of men and money coming from Bengal and Bihar and passing through that city. They performed their duty, assisted by a number of other Bengali agents like Sirāj al-Dīn of Hakimpur (Khulna), Mawlawī Bashārat Allah of Jessore, Ghāzī Khānsama of Burdwan and others, till the uprisings of 1857.⁴ Amīn al-Dīn, Sirāj al-Dīn and Umed 'Alī set themselves up as publishers and book-sellers and continued their work in the cause of the *jihād* movement till the end of the sixties. Amīn al-Dīn was the leader of the group at Delhi who worked under the general supervision of Mawlawī Naẓīr Ḥusain of Surajgarh (east Bihar). Amīn al-Dīn came to Bengal and visited Barisal from time to time, preaching and coordinating the activities of the other agents in that district. The organizational aspect of a large part of that district was also

¹ Crown v. Mahomed Shafi' and others, *Beng. Judl. Prods.*, August 1865, No. 12. See specially paras 66, 103 and 115.

² Umed 'Alī's statement before the magistrate of Delhi (Carr Stephen), 15 Feb. 1869, *Beng. Judl. Prods.*, April, 1869.

³ Umed 'Alī's statement before the Patna Sessions Judge, 26 June, 1871, *E.O.M.*, 1 July 1871, p. 7, Col. 3.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 6.

looked after by the Khulna and Faridpur agents. Amīn al-Dīn first married at Delhi and for a second time the daughter of Mawlawī 'Azīm al-Dīn, a leading *jihād* leader in the city of Dhaka.

(c) *Dhaka, Mymensing and central Bengal*

The ramifications of the movement spread in the eastern districts of Dhaka and Mymensingh by 1843 at the latest, for we have definite information about 'Ināyat 'Alī's tour there in that year.¹ In the city of Dhaka the leading agents were Mawlawī 'Azīm al-Dīn of Mahalla Nawabpur and Ḥājī Badr al-Dīn. The latter, like Amīr Khān of Calcutta, was a great hide merchant and like him acted as the banker of the movement in eastern Bengal. Unlike Amīr Khān, however, Ḥājī Badr al-Dīn was an accomplished 'ālim and a writer. He undertook frequent preaching tours and also published a number of booklets on the subject of *jihād* and the duty of Muslims to join it or render it all possible material help.² Both Ḥājī Badr al-Dīn and Mawlawī 'Azīm al-Dīn were assisted by a number of subordinate agents like Mawlawī Aḥmadullah Khān of Mauza Etah and Mawlawī Amīn al-Dīn of Lalbāgh. In the district of Mymensingh the leading agent was Mawlawī Ibrāhīm of Atia, Kagmari. He was also a vastly learned man and took active part in preaching. He was assisted by Mawlawī Riyād al-Dīn of Chillapara.³

It was also during the early forties that district centres were set up in Murshidabad, Rajshahi, Bogra and Rangpur. In Rajshahi Ḥājī Munīr al-Dīn, assisted by Ḥājī Khuda Bakhsh and Ḥājī Muḥammad Shafī built up an extensive organization with subordinate centres in that district. In Murshidabad a similar work was at first done by Rafīq Mandal of Narainpur⁴ and then it was continued by Mawlawī 'Abd al-Ḥakīm of Harkaria, 'Abd al-Karīm of Daulatpur (Pargana Dīwān-ki-Sarai), Sirāj Sarkar of Bhagawan Gola and others. In Bogra Mawlawī Nāṣir Muḥammad and in Rangpur Mawlawī Dain Allah and Nazīr Muḥammad were the organizational heads.⁵

¹ *Beng. Cr. Judl. Prods.*, 29 May 1843, Nos. 21-26. See also *supra* pp. 335-336.

² *Beng. Judl. Prods.*, A for Nov. 1868, No. 168.

³ *Rajmahal Report*, para 17.

⁴ See below.

⁵ *Bengal Selections*, No. 42, 154-60.

(d) *Malda & Rajmahal*

The two most important centres in north and north-western Bengal were Malda and Rajmahal (Islampur, on the borders of Bengal). These two places came to occupy a position of primacy partly because of their situation on the route to Patna and partly because of the zeal and exertions of their leaders. The foremost leaders in Malda district were Rafiq Mandal and his son Amīr al-Dīn Mandal of Sondip Narainpur. They were assisted by Nazīr Sardar of Kazigram (Kaliachak) and Guran Khan, a man from Oudh who had settled at Kazigram. Sondip Narainpur was earlier included in the northernmost part of the Jangipur subdivision of Murshidabad district along the river Ganges. Subsequently it was included in the Malda district. It was when still within the jurisdiction of Jangipur subdivision that Wilāyat 'Alī visited the place. In 1841 he sent one of his *khalīfas*, 'Abd al-Rahmān of Lucknow, to organize the movement in that part of the country.¹ 'Abd al-Rahmān settled and married there, and in a short time "acquired so much influence as to induce the munduls or headmen of Narainpore and the adjacent villages to build him a Madrissa, where he received pupils and taught the young". Under 'Abd al-Rahmān's influence Rafiq Mandal, "the most conspicuous of the munduls" in that area, threw himself into the movement with all the zeal and enthusiasm of a new convert. He devoted one of his sons, Amīr al-Dīn Mandal, who was a pupil of 'Abd al-Rahmān, to the work of preaching and organizing, and sent another son, Shakur Muḥammad, to the *jihād* on the frontier.

Rafiq Mandal spread branches of the movement throughout the district, undertook preaching tours, organized the peasantry against the oppression of the indigo planters and played a significant role in the "indigo revolt" of 1859-60,² and enforced the rules of Islam among his disciples and the Muslims of the locality generally. It is on record that he strictly forbade the Muslims to take interest on money lent, and once publicly humbled Hayāt Mandal, a leading man of the locality, who used to do so and forced him under threat of excommunication from

¹ *Malda Report*, para 2. See also Hunter, *op.cit.*, 80-81.

² *Malda Report*, para 4.

society to abandon the practice and lead a reformed life. Rafiq Mandal was also particular in the matter of the saying of "Ameen" loudly and raising hands during prayer.¹ It was due to his exertions that Sondip Narainpur became in course of time the "headcentre" of all the district centres in Bengal, and a convenient halting station for the Patna leaders in the course of their tours in Bengal, and for the *mujāhids* in the course of their west-ward journey to Patna and the frontier. Adjoining Sondip Narainpur was a cluster of villages inhabited entirely by *mujāhids* or their families.²

The zealous exertions of Rafiq Mandal in collecting money and securing recruits for the *jihād* attracted the attention of the Jangipur Joint-Magistrate who arrested him in 1853 and searched his house when "a great number of letters" were found there; but he was released.³ He then gave over the work to his son, Amīr al-Dīn Mandal, but lived long enough to see the great organizing success of the latter and also his trial and transportation in 1871. Amīr al-Dīn indeed proved a worthy successor to his father and carried on the work till the end. Collections for the *jihād* from Malda, Rajshahi and the greater part of Murshidabad, and recruits from all over Bengal, passed through his hands and the centre at Sondip Narainpur. He also sent a large number of recruits for the *jihād* from these districts. He led a simple and unostentatious life, never indulged in luxuries and was strictly honest in his dealings with the *jihād* funds. "In justice to the prisoner", wrote the investigating officer J.H. Reily after Amīr al-Dīn's arrest in 1869, "I must state that I find he bore a good moral character... His poverty proves without question that he was perfectly upright and honest as regards the sums of money which passed through his hands."⁴ He had a number of students whom he taught and who followed him from village to village and helped him in his missionary work and collection of funds. When the collections

¹ *Ibid.*, paras 5-6.

² *Ibid.*, para 26. Reily mentions Panka, Gopalnagar, Babupur, Tokna, Kalinagar, Lampat Narainpur and Dakaitpara as the most important villages adjoining Sondip Narainpur. See *ibid.*, Appendix B.

³ *Ibid.*, para 7.

⁴ *Ibid.*, para 16.

amounted to a sum of two to four hundred rupees, it was remitted to Islampur for onward transmission to Patna. "On one occasion when the sum fell short of two hundred rupees by ten rupees", writes Reily, "he sent for the three leading men in the village of Kamlabaree and prevailed on them to make up the ten rupees."¹ He commanded great influence and respect by virtue of his piety, integrity and devotion to duty. "It appears that he firmly believed that Sayud Ahmud had not died in the battle of Balacote, but was still alive, and would appear to lead the faithful to victory." When he preached in public on the subject of the *jihād* and the hardships of the *mujāhids* on the frontier, "the hearts of his hearers melted within them, and became like water." "The movement in Bengal", observes Reily, "reminds one of the first crusade as described by Gibbon... In fact, were it not for the fanatical spirit which prevails amongst the sect to extirpate the *kaffir*, and to reconquer India, there is much in the Wahabees to admire."²

The last centre to come into existence was that of Islampur; but it was in some respects the most important, situated as it was near Rajmahal, where the Ganges meets the frontiers of Bengal. The founder of the centre, indeed the village of Islampur itself, was Ibrāhīm Mandal. His story is no less interesting than that of Rafiq Mandal and his son Amīr al-Dīn Mandal. Ibrāhīm Mandal originally belonged to Jhaudanga, a village in the Jangipur subdivision of Murshidabad district. His father, Chānd Mandal, was the head-man of the village and was a man of substance and influence, "having an income of about eight thousand rupees a year from the cultivation of the land, and by selling silk-cocoons."³ The river Ganges having swept away the village of Jhaudanga Ibrāhīm Mandal, formerly named Du-kauri Mandal, settled in the village of Baisrasia in the same subdivision. It was at Jhaudanga, however, that Wilāyat 'Alī's *khalīfā* Maqṣūd 'Alī (of Dinapur) visited Ibrāhīm Mandal about the year 1845-46, ostensibly in search of a boat laden with mustard-seed and belonging to the firm of Amīr Khān of Calcutta but really for the

¹ *Ibid.*

² *Ibid.*

³ *Rajmahal Report*, para 7.

purpose of spreading the *jihād* movement in that part of the country. Ibrāhīm Mandal himself describes his first contact with Maqṣūd 'Alī thus:

"It was, I think, in 1252 or 1253 B.S. [1845-46] Muksood Alli came down as agent to inquire concerning the loss of a boat laden with mustard seed, about six miles from my house at Jowdangah. A man ... went and told him that there was a serious dispute among the Mahomedans at Jowdangah. Muksood Alli came to my house and asked me the particulars, which I gave him, and also that Moonshee Mahomed Nukee had excommunicated me and others for eating at a Beldair's¹ marriage feast. Muksood Alli went to see the Moonshee to try and arrange matters. Many persons assembled, and Muksood Alli then showed from Mahomedan books that Moonshee Mahomed Nukee's *fatwah* was wrong, and that all classes of Mahomedans were directed to eat together. On this the Moonshee recalled his *fatwah* and gave another, that all Mahomedans might eat together and pray at the old mosque. He [Maqṣūd 'Alī] also settled all differences in the surrounding villages, and then came back to my house, when I and many others became his mooreeds [disciples]. In 1259 or 1260 [1852-53] he again came to our neighbourhood. Jowdangah had been washed away by the Ganges, and we were then at Baisrusseah; he stayed with me five or six days."²

Like Rafīq Mandal of Narainpur, Ibrāhīm Mandal also played a leading part in organizing the peasantry of that part of the country against the indigo planting system. In the indigo revolt of 1859-60 he, along with Murād Biswās, led the revolt there. The latter was imprisoned by the authorities who also sought to punish the other leaders including Ibrāhīm Mandal. At that stage he, with many of his followers, fled to the Sonthal Parganas and settled on a waste and jungly strip of land between the river Ganges and the East India Railway, about five miles from the Railway station at Bahawah. "This site", writes Reily, "was selected with great judgment, and is admirably suited for a head central station. It is out of the way of ordinary travellers; it commands the *ghāts* or ferries on the Ganges, communicating with the districts of Maldah, Rajshahye, Bograh, Rangpore and Dinagepore; while at the same time it affords easy communication with Patna by means of rail. About ten years ago, when Ibrahim Mandle fled to this spot, it was a barren waste covered with jungle, without even a name; it is now a flourishing village.

¹ *Beldar* meant a brick-worker or one who dug earth.

² *Rajmahal Report*, para 11.

Ibrahim Mundle gradually gathered round him the *jehadees* or crescentaders who had proceeded to the hills who had died on the Black mountains, or, as they called it, Khorasan. Owing to the families of the dead being settled there, it was called Islampore, or the place of the professors of Islam."¹

Ibrahim Mandal was indeed a born leader. He had a great influence over his followers and in his localities at Murshidabad and at Islampur. He was, in the view of the "King or rather Pope, of his little community at Islampur, the important agents and leaders of the movement for the colony at Islampur. "After Muksood Alii came Feroze Moulvie Ibrahim of Attea, Kagmaree, in the district of Dinajpur; Attar Hossein of Patna, and Mahomed Hossain of Wilayat Alii. They one and all preached *jehad* as they called it in English, the present rulers of the country..."² After the establishment of Islampur, funds collected from Bograh, Nalhati, Rangpur, Dinajpur and Murshidabad passed through Ibrahim Mandal;³ as also the recruits from the whole of the district through Islampur. Ibrahim Mandal himself collected from the locality about 20,000 rupees annually for the *jihad*. He gave a part of these collections "for the support of the widows of those who had gone to the hills, and in providing for the education of fresh recruits; the remainder he remitted to other agents and leaders he bore a good moral character. He was strictly just and correct in his conduct. He was great in the eyes of that part of the country and was invited from distant places to settle disputes and arbitrate quarrels about land and other differences. Besides the recognized collections, he collected on occasions of such judicial functions and incorrect conduct on the part of the Muslims to enhance the funds for the movement. For instance, he punished with fines for (a) charging more money lent, (b) for assaulting a wife, (c) for going to other *jamaitis* or assemblies who indulged in inno-

¹ *Ibid.*

² *Ibid.* para 13.

³ *Ibid.* paras 2 & 14.

smoking tobacco, etc. He was very strict on this last mentioned offence. "He said there would be enough of fire and smoke in *dozuk* or hell. He invariably punished for this offence with ten strokes of a shoe."¹ All the accounts agree in giving him credit for strict honesty and integrity. He regarded the collections as entirely belonging to Allah and reserved "every pice for the purpose for which it was subscribed." "So much was he valued by the Patna moulvies" and the *mujahids* generally, writes Reily, "that when Abdoollah, their chief, mentioned the conditions on which he would make peace with the English, he mentioned the release of Ibrahim Mundal of Islampore as a *sine-qua-non*."² Reily indeed experienced great difficulty in finding witnesses to depose against Ibrāhīm Mandal. "He was a man of so much influence, and held in such great regard as a leader, that men were unwilling to testify to any of his seditious acts."³

To sum up, the important local centres in Bengal and their leaders may be tabulated as follows.⁴

Places	Leaders
Calcutta: Misriganj Kolutola	Mawlaī Badī' al-Zamān Amīr Khān Hashmatdad Khān Prominent assistant: Mawlawī 'Abd al-Jabbār (Misriganj)
24-Parganas: Chandpur Palaspur Wafapur (in Satkhira, Khulna) Hakimpur (in Satkhira, Khulna)	Mu'azzam Sardar Hājī Nazīr al-Dīn Mawlawī Ibrāhīm (son of the above) Mawlawī 'Uthmān 'Alī Mawlawī Sirāj al-Dīn Mawlawī (Hājī) Mofīz al-Dīn (brother-in-law of Hājī Nazīr al-Dīn of Palaspur)

¹ *Ibid.* para 14.

² *Ibid.*

³ *Ibid.* para 27.

⁴ This table has been prepared on the basis of the information contained in the sources indicated above as well as in *Bengal Selections*, No. 42, pp. 154-60, the various trial reports and *Beng. Judl. Prods.*, July 1869, Nos. 185; Sept. 1869, Nos. 183-185; Nov. 1869, Nos. 156-158.

Places	Leaders
	Prominent assistants: 'Abd al-Subhān of Barasat town, Zeenat Allah of Konakarkati (Satkhira, Khulna), Faiyaz al-Dīn of Surulia and 'Abd al-Ghanī Khan of Hakimpur.
Jessore: Jessore town Aurabunia	Mawlawī Raihān al-Dīn (Nazīr of the Judge's court) Mawlawī Nāṣir al-Dīn Prominent assistants: Mawlawī Barakat Allah, Munshi Talib Allah of Kishanpur
Faridpur: Patharghata (on the Madhumati river)	Mawlawī 'Irfān al-Dīn Prominent assistant: Mīr 'Uthmān. He subsequently went to the frontier and commanded a regiment there.
Bakarganj: Barisal town Tarachar (Pargana Muladi)	Mawlawī Amin al-Dīn Qārī Umed 'Alī Both these leaders subsequently worked mainly at Delhi, visiting Barisal from time to time.
Dhaka Dhaka town Mahalla Nawabpur	Haji Badr al-Dīn (Hide merchant and 'ālim) Mawlawī 'Azīm al-Dīn Prominent assistants: Mawlawī Ahmad Allah Khān (originally of Atia, Mymensingh, settled at Dhaka). Mawlawī Miran al-Rahmān, (originally of Sylhet, settled at Dhaka).
Mymensingh: Atia, Kagmari Chillamari	Mawlawī Ibrāhīm Riyād al-Dīn Both assisted by the agent at Dhaka, particularly by Mawlawi Ahmad Allah (originally from Atia)
Pabna: Kumarkhali	Qāzī Miyān Jān Qāzī Murād (brother of the above) Prominent assistants: Munshī 'Abd al-Hādī of Boirapur, Lal Muḥammad

Places	Leaders
	of Kumargram and Hāji Mīr Allah Jakandar.
Murshidabad: Bhagawangola Harkaria Daulatpur (Pargana Diwan-ki-Sarai)	Sirāj Sarkar Mawlawī ‘Abd al-Hākīm ‘Abd al-Karīm, Mawlawī Tofazzal Husain Mawlawī Safdar ‘Alī
Rajshahi: Rajshahi town	Hāji Munīr al-Dīn (of Rampur Boalia locality) Hāji Khuda Bakhsh Hāji Muḥammad Shafī
Bogra: Bogra town	Mawlawī Nāṣir Muḥammad
Dinajpur:	Looked after by the agents in Malda, mainly by Nazīr Sardar of Kaliachak.
Rangpur: Rangpur town	Mawlawī Dain Allah Mawlawī Nazīr Muḥammad
Malda: Sondip Narainpur	Rafīq Mandal Amīr al-Dīn Mandal (son of the above)
Rajmahal: Islampur (on the border of Bengal)	Ibrāhīm Mandal (originally from Jhaudanaga-Baisrasia in Murshi- dabad)

It appears that the organizational net-work of the movement did not extend over the extreme eastern districts of Bengal like Comilla (Tippera), Noakhali and Chittagong. In view of the fact, however, that a good section of the people of the city of Chittagong are still today locally known as "Wahhabis" and are strongly opposed to the erection of any structure over graves,¹ it would appear that the influence of the *Salafīyya* movement reached that part of the country either directly from Arabia

¹ From personal knowledge.

(through *hājīs*) or through the preachers of the *jihād* and other reform movements like the *Farā'idī* movement and the movement organized by Titu Mir. Be that as it may, there is no doubt that the important eastern Bengal districts of Dhaka, Faridpur and Mymensingh, which were the scene of the *Farā'idī* movement, were very much within the net-work of the *jihād* organization in Bengal.

IV. MODUS OPERANDI

In the districts mentioned above the organization was rather elaborate. Each of the district leaders had invariably a number of followers and assistants who worked in collaboration with one another. There was also a council of the prominent members of the movement in each district who discussed and decided upon important matters connected with the cause. For instance at Islampur the council consisted of, besides Ibrāhīm Mandal, others like Ghulām Shāh Hājī, Mawla Bakhsh, Dusti Muhammad and Faujdār Sardar.¹ Again, each of the districts was divided into a number of smaller units for purposes of organization and collection of funds. Amīr al-Dīn of Malda, for instance, divided the whole district into a number of fiscal units in each of which he appointed a chief collector. In populous localities a larger staff was appointed, consisting of a *Dīn-ka-Sardār* (chief in regard to religious matters), a *Dunya-ka-Sardār* (chief in regard to worldly matters) and a *Dāk-ka-Sardār* (chief courier) who supplied messengers for carrying secret letters and contributions.² In course of time the leaders also developed a sort of local government in their respective localities, adjudicating and settling disputes among the Muslims, particularly members of their own group, and discouraged or forbade them from taking their suits to the East India Company's law-courts. In this respect their practice had a close resemblance to that developed by the *Farā'idī* leader Dudu Miyān in eastern Bengal.

The leaders did not confine their activities in their respective districts alone, but frequently visited other districts and, in

¹ *Rajmahal Report*, para 25.

² *The Queen v. Ameeruddin* in Sutherland, *The Weekly Reporter*, XV (1871), 25-33.

general, coordinated their activities throughout the country.¹ From the late-forties Malda became the head-centre of the different district centres and it acted as the link with Patna. Recruits from all over Bengal, and contributions from the northern districts were forwarded to Mawlawī Rafīq Mandal (afterwards Amīr al-Dīn Mandal) and Nazīr Sardār of that place who in turn sent them on to Patna.

Collections were made generally under five heads, viz., (1) *zakāt*, or the obligatory payment for specified purposes, of which *jihād* was acknowledgedly an important one, of 2½% of all surplus property held for a complete lunar year; (2) *fitrah* or the per capita fixed charitable contributions, also obligatory on all financially solvent Muslims, to be paid on the occasion of 'īd al-*fitr* (at the end of *Ramādān*); (3) prices of the skins of beasts sacrificed on the occasion of the 'īd al-*adḥa* (the festival of sacrifice, from 10 to 12 *Du-al-Hijjah*); (4) general contributions in the way of Allah (*Fi Sabil Allah*) for religious purposes and (5) *Mushti* or *Muthi*, i.e., the laying aside of a handful of rice each time the meal was prepared.² The last source of income was indeed a considerable one. The rice so collected was deposited in the local mosques wherefrom it was sold and the proceeds were then sent to the regional leaders. Added to these were the proceeds of justice, i.e., the fines imposed by the leaders for improper or irreligious conduct and activities. The regional leaders were allowed to keep a portion of the collections, approved by the local consultative body and the Patna headquarters, for the maintenance of the helpless families and dependants of the *mujāhids* who had gone to the frontier.³ The rest was transmitted to the frontier.

The amount thus collected in Bengal for the *jihād* was large enough. It is on record that the *zakāt* alone of Amīr Khān of

¹ This was probably the reason why T.E. Ravenshaw mixed up the names of persons and places in his "Memorandum on the Wahabees" submitted to govt. in 1865. See *Bengal Selections*, No. 42, pp. 154-158.

² *Beng. Judl. Prods.*, A for November, 1868, No. 168. Also *Malda Report*, para 10 and *Rajmahal Report* para 14.

³ Reily's remarks (*Malda Report* para 11) that every collector was entitled to reserve a fourth for himself and that by that means a "ready-made agency" was secured for the collection of the funds is incorrect and is otherwise inconsistent with his repeated emphasis on the honesty and integrity of the leaders.

Calcutta worked out from 3000 to 5000 rupees a month and that he used to make over almost the whole of that amount to the *jihād* fund.¹ It has already been mentioned that Ibrāhīm Mandal of Islampur used to collect 20,000 rupees annually for the *jihād* from his locality.² Similar amounts were doubtless realized from such other districts as Dhaka, Mymensingh, 24-Parganas, Jessore, etc. Even when the movement was almost suppressed during the late sixties, the contributions from each district amounted to several thousands of rupees. On one occasion alone in 1868, for instance, the people of Bogra sent to the frontier camp a sum of 3000 rupees.³ Collections from eastern Bengal were forwarded through Ḥājī Badr al-Dīn of Dhaka, while those from central, southern and south-western Bengal were forwarded through Qāzī Miyān Jān of Kumarkhali, Pabna, and Amīr Khān of Calcutta. Both Amīr Khān and Ḥājī Badr al-Dīn, as great hide merchants, had agencies and connections at almost all important places and towns in Bengal and northern India, and they both acted as bankers of the *jihād* funds. Collections from northern Bengal passed through Mawlawī Amīr al-Dīn Mandal of Malda and Ibrāhīm Mandal of Islampur. Money was transmitted to the frontier either in the form of bills of exchange (*hundis*) drawn on known and tested bankers at Delhi and Peshawar, or in cash, usually in gold *mohars* in order to lessen the volume and weight and carried by *qāsids* (couriers) of the *jihād* movement. Gold *mohars* were generally sewn in the jackets of the *qāsids* so as to avoid detection as well as to prevent any sound being produced by their frictions.⁴

The tempo of contributions as well as of recruitment of volunteers could be sustained only through systematic preachings and persuasion. The organizers of the movement were equally alive to that aspect of their duty. In fact an important part of the work of the different district centres was the maintenance of *madrasas* either attached to mosques or separately. "In every place to which the movement has extended", writes Reily, "the

¹ Statement of 'Abd Allah, a leading agent stationed at Rawalpindi, *Beng. Judl. Prods.*, A for Nov., 1869, No. 278.

² *Rajmahal Report*, para 14.

³ *Beng. Judl. Prods.*, A for Nov., 1868, Nos. 180-183.

⁴ See statement of Mu'azzam Sardar, *op.cit.*

education of the young has generally been one of the primary objects of this sect. Like the Jesuits, they are fully alive to the manifest advantages of securing to themselves the training of the rising generation."¹ In the madrasa at Sondip Narainpur, for instance, a number of workers and *qāsids* were trained.² Side by side with such educational programme, the leaders undertook regular preaching missions in their own localities as well as in other districts. Mawlawī Ibrāhīm of Mymensingh and Hāji Badr al-Dīn of Dhaka, especially, were great theologians and skilful preachers. They travelled and preached in almost all the districts of Bengal, coordinated and guided a number of other preachers, resident and itinerant, and published a vast literature on the duty of joining or assisting the *jihād* movement.³ These local missionaries were, in the words of Hunter, "dangerous firebrands". They bore an exemplary character and inspired the people not simply by precept but also by their personal examples. The same writer found it "impossible to speak of them without respect." "Certain it is that the Wahabi missionary furnishes, so far as my experience goes, the most spiritual and least selfish type of the sect."⁴ They instructed the people in the principles of Islam, brought home to them the spiritual benefit of *jihād* and, as indicated earlier, excited their fighting spirit by playing upon their economic hardships under the *zamindari* and indigo planting systems and by giving them to understand that after the overthrow of the foreign rule they would have free lands and a far better lot.⁵ Emphasizing the Prophet's example of *hijrat* to Madina for the sake of establishing Islam, these preachers also exhorted the people to migrate from the jurisdiction of the "infidel" foreign rulers and to endeavour to liberate the country by waging a war from the land of Islam on the north-west frontier. Till the early sixties the preachers had also adhered in general to the theme of Sayyid Ahmad's disappearance from the

¹ *Malda Report*, para 2.

² *Ibid.*, para 20..

³ *Bengal Judl. Prods.*, A for Nov. 1868, No. 168. See for a list of such publications Bengal Selections, No. 42.

⁴ Hunter, *Indian Musalmans*, London, 1871, p. 63.

⁵ *Beng. Judl. Prods.*, A for Nov. 1868, No. 168.

battle field of Balakot and the prospect of his reappearance at the appropriate moment.¹ So great was the impact of these preachings that from remote villages of Bengal Muslim youths left their hearth and home and plunged themselves into the struggle which they sincerely believed to be a struggle for independence and economic liberation.

An idea of the number of recruits from Bengal may be obtained from the fact that when Nāṣir al-Dīn went to Sind in 1835-36 he had only 200 men with him; but soon afterwards four times that number from Bengal joined him so that when he marched into Afghanistan he had no less than a thousand men under him.² Again, when Mawlawī 'Ināyat 'Alī went to the frontier in the mid-forties, at least 2000 men from Bengal accompanied him,³ besides the others who went in small batches before and after that. At times even some eight or nine thousand men from Bengal were concentrated at Mulka and Sittana on the frontier.⁴ "Very few of these men returned. Some were killed in fights, but the majority perished by disease and exposure to the severe winter of the Black Mountains, which Bengalis were not able to endure. The road to Mulka and Sittana is described by those who have returned as densely covered with a countless number of graves."⁵

The journey of the recruits from Bengal to Patna was rather easier; but their travel from that place to the frontier was a delicate and hazardous task. For at every place along their almost two thousand miles' journey through northern India their physical appearance and language marked them out as strangers. To overcome this difficulty the Patna leaders organized, since at least the forties, a number of hospices and halting-places along the route at such places as Baxar, Benares, Allahabad, Kanpur, Delhi, Thaneswar, Ambala, Rawalpindi and Peshawar. At each of these places proven disciples were posted so that the *mujāhids* travelled in safety and confidence that at the end of each stage there were

¹ *Crown v. Shafi and others*, in *Beng. Judl. Prods.*, August 1865, No. 12, para 101.

² See below, pp. 530, 533.

³ *Rajmahal Report*, para 17.

⁴ *Malda Report*, para 18.

⁵ *Ibid.*

friends to receive them. To escape observation and suspicion on the part of government authorities the recruits were sent in small batches and were also posed as pilgrims or religious parties. To facilitate the task further, agents from Bengal and Bihar were placed at the more important of the intermediary stations. Thus Qārī Umed 'Alī and Mawlawī Amīn al-Dīn of Barisal, along with Mawlawī Nazīr Husain of Surajgarh (Bihar) were posted at Delhi to receive the *mujāhids* there lead them on towards the west and to carry messages to and from the frontier.¹ At Thaneswar Muḥammad Ja'far of that place, assisted by 'Abd al-Ghafūr and a number of others from Bengal, passed up the recruits and remittances sent upto them.² Muḥammad Shafī of Ambala, who was a whole-sale butcher and meat-supplier to the British India government forces in the Panjab, similarly covered the route between Thaneswar and Rawalpindi with the help of his servant Husaini and another Husaini of Patna. Shafī also used his widespread connections in encashing and transmitting the remittances and in giving the *mujāhids* information about the movement of the British troops.³

At Rawalpindi Mawlawī 'Abbās 'Alī, Jawhar 'Alī, Kalīm al-Dīn and Qāsim 'Alī, all from Bengal, were at first similarly employed.⁴ Later on their places were taken up by Hājī Dīn Muḥammad and Khuda Bakhsh of Dinapur, Ramzan Shāh and 'Abd Allah (Kawaidī) of Patna and Barakat Allah and Fakīr Allah from Bengal.⁵ At Peshawar, the last station on the route, Muḥammad Husain of Patna, or Muftī Husaini, as they called him, assisted by 'Abd al-'Azīz and his two nephews, 'Abd al-Rahmān and 'Abd al-Qaiyum, of Dinapur, acted as the last link with the frontier camp.⁶ Since this station was situated under the very eyes of the British authorities who were alert about the activities of the frontier tribes as well as the *mujāhids* concentrated

¹ *Beng. Judl. Prods.*, April, 1869, No. 214.

² *Crown v. Shafi and others*, *op.cit.*, para 66; also Hunter, *op.cit.*, p. 79.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ *Ind. Secret Cons.*, 26 Nov., 1852, No. 64.

⁵ Statement of 'Abdullah ('Abd Allah), *Beng. Judl. Prods.*, Nov., 1869, No. 278. This change took place after the defection of Zain al-'Abidin and 'Abbās 'Alī. See below.

⁶ *Ibid.*

at the Sittana camp, it required great skill on the part of the agents at Peshawar to do their job. And Muftī Husaini did it with equal dexterity. While working as the *Imām* of a mosque in that city he at the same time managed to obtain employment as the British India government's spy at that place to observe and bring information about the Sittana camp; but in fact he did exactly the opposite work of helping it and the *mujāhids*.¹ Thus by a clear trick he deceived the authorities and passed up, in perfect security and ease, the recruits, remittances and correspondence to and from the *mujāhid* settlement. The role of his assistant 'Abd al-'Azīz was also interesting. Originally a Hindu of Dinapur bearing the name of Gadādhār, he subsequently embraced Islam along with the other members of his family and then employed himself as an agent of the *jihād* movement at Peshawar.²

These and the other agents at the other places did their best to remain unobserved, and for that purpose as well as for maintaining themselves they set themselves up at almost every place as shop-keepers, tailors, book-sellers or *Imāms* of local mosques. It may be noted that the stations mentioned above were merely halting places for the *mujāhids* going up from the Bengal Presidency and that since at least the forties of the nineteenth century these intermediate stations had no ramifications of the movement in their respective countrysides. Also, excepting at Peshawar, the agents at the intermediate stations do not appear of themselves to have made any collections of men or money at their respective places. Such acts on their part would indeed have exposed their true identity and would otherwise have frustrated the purpose for which they were posted at those stations. At Peshawar, however, Mufti Husaini and his colleagues had necessarily to secure helpers and agents from among the local tribal people for obtaining provisions, arms and ammunitions for the *mujāhid* camp.³

The work of communication between the frontier camp and the headquarters at Patna, particularly the carrying of correspond-

¹ *Ibid.* Also Reily's investigation report, 28 September 1869, in *Beng. Judl. Prods.*, Nov., 1869, No. 65.

² *Ibid.*

³ *Ibid.*

ence and remittances, was done by a group of efficient and trustworthy *qāsids* (couriers or messengers). These latter were almost all from Bengal and Bihar. Of these *qāsids* mention may be made of Mu‘azzam Sardar of 24-Parganas, Safdar ‘Alī of Sylhet, Qāzī Miayān Jān of Pabna, Husaini and ‘Abd Allah Kawaidī of Patna, Shaikh Ahmad ‘Alī of Dinapur, Mawla Bakhsh of Muzaffarpur and ‘Abd al-Ghanī of Surajgarh (Bihar, nephew of Mawlawī Nazir Husain).¹ These men were completely self-less, dedicated and honest workers for the cause. It is noteworthy that there was nothing to prevent their appropriating the large sums entrusted to them; for no claim could be brought against them in any of the law courts in the country. Yet none of them was guilty of any breach of trust reposed in them and they performed their hazardous jobs with perfect integrity. The man most remarkable amongst them was ‘Abd al-Ghanī of Surajgarh. The way in which he did his job till the last moment is best described by the investigating officer, Reily, as follows:

“His zeal and labours in the Wahabee cause were untiring. When Ibrahim Mundul was arrested, he was at Islampore immediately after, — appointing Hajee Golam Shah in his stead. When collections were lax at Rajshahye and Bograh, he was there infusing fresh zeal and courage amongst the Mahomedans. When the time came after the Bukreed for the *zekat* of Ameer Khan, he was in Colootolah ready to receive the gold mohurs, and went by train to Lodianah to forward the same to the colony. I have heard of him at Hooghly collecting from the paper-makers and chikin-wallahs. I have had him followed to Simla, Lahore, and Rawul Pindee, and it is stated that he went even to Port Blair, serving as a common *khalasee* in one of the vessels that visit that port, and had an interview with Maulvies Ahmidoolah and Eayah Alli [Yahyā ‘Alī], sentenced to transportation across the seas in 1864. I was repeatedly on his track, but never could find him. At last in September 1870 a Hindoostanee, dressed in rags, and apparently a broken down fakeer, was stopped by the police at Peshawur. The Kotwal of Peshawur, who is a staunch supporter of the Wahabees, testified to his being a common fakeer, and the man was very nearly released; but Colonel Chamberlain had received orders that no Hindoostanee was to be released without being first sent to him. The fakeer was accordingly sent to Abbotabad, and was immediately recognized by two of my approvers² as the great *cossid* Abdool Gunny. From the day of his arrest he visibly became

¹ *Rajmahal Report*, para 15. Also statement of Abdullah, *op. cit.*

² Shamsheer Darji and Jahangir, both from Bengal. They were arrested and then induced to become approvers in order to secure evidence for the prosecution of the leaders.

weaker, though of no great age; his constitution seemed utterly broken by the unusual strain of his self-imposed labours. He was attacked by a distressing pain in the loins, brought about, it is said, by his having on the last occasion carried up to the hills a great weight of gold mohurs securely tied round that part of his person. He lingered on for two months and a half after his arrest, and eventually died in December 1870 at Rawul Pindee. The self-devotion, strict integrity and great zeal of this Wahabee *cossid* are entitled to respect, and fully prove that a native of Bengal can equal in religious fervour and self-denial the greatest missionaries of the west."¹

Thus was set up a perfect machinery for the transmission of men and money to the frontier for carrying on the *jihād* which, as will be related presently, continued for more than three decades after the battle of Balkot and the death of Sayyid Ahmad Shahīd.

¹ *Rajmahal Report*, para 15.

CHAPTER XV FROM BALAKOT TO SITTANA (1831-1858)

I. THE FIRST DECADE AFTER BALAKOT: INVOLVEMENT IN SIND, HYDERABAD AND AFGHANISTAN

Along with the work of organization in the Bengal Presidency Wilāyat 'Alī and 'Ināyat 'Alī continued the work of the *jihād* on the frontier and elsewhere. Indeed the organization in the Bengal Presidency was intended to support and sustain the latter work. Acting more or less on the lines indicated by the founder of the movement they adopted the strategy of concentrating the *mujāhids* on the frontier on the one hand and, on the other, of winning over to the cause any Muslim ruler or principality within the subcontinent. This latter effort involved the *mujāhids* in the affairs of Sind, Hyderabad (Deccan) and Afghanistan, all during the first decade after the battle of Balakot. And in all these three endeavours the anti-British character of the movement became increasingly clear.

The elections first of Shaikh Wali Muḥammad, then of Nāṣir al-Dīn Manglorī and lastly of Aulād 'Alī of Surajgarh (Bihar) as successive commanders of the *mujāhids* on the frontier, as indicated earlier,¹ were more or less stop-gap measures in which the leaders and workers in the subcontinent, away from the frontier, had not apparently taken any active part. By the time the first shock of the disaster of Balakot was over and the *mujāhids* settled themselves at Sittana (1834-35) the leaders in "Hindustan" took up the matter of appointing a commander of the *mujāhid* forces on the frontier. They then formally appointed Nāṣir al-Dīn of Delhi, a relation of the late Shāh 'Abd al-'Azīz's, commander of the forces and sent him to the frontier to assume the command. The background of this appointment is not known in detail; but it indicates some willingness on the part of the Delhi leaders, at least till that time, to support or control the active *jihād*. It also appears that Wilāyat 'Alī approved of this appointment with a view to bridging the gradually widening gulf between the "Sadikpur Party" and the "Delhi Party" over the question of continuing the

¹ See *supra*, pp. 495-496.

active *jihād*. Be that as it may, Nāṣir al-Dīn himself subsequently looked mainly to the 'Alī brothers for the supply of men and money.¹

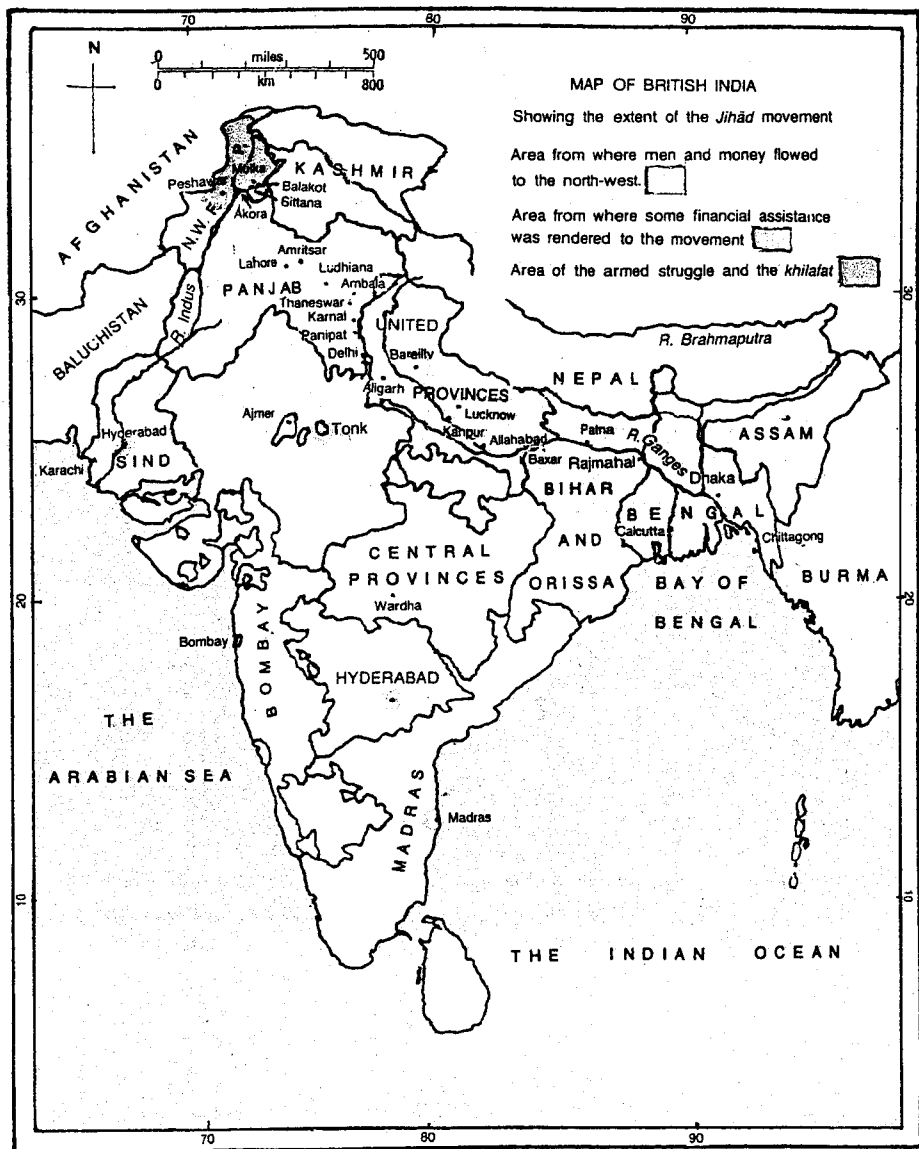
Proceeding through Tonk, Ajmer and Jaipur Nāṣir al-Dīn reached Sind in 1857 with about 200 persons collected from different places including Bengal. The Nawwāb of Tonk rendered substantial financial help to the party. Though originally intended for the frontier, Nāṣir al-Dīn stayed on in Sind under instructions from the leaders. He took his abode at Shikarpur where Sayyid Aḥmad's family had been living for sometime. The decision to stay on in Sind was in fact made in view of the changed political situation of the place. The battle of Balakot had indeed freed Ranjit Singh from a great menace in that quarter and, almost immediately after that, he turned his attention towards Sind.² At the same time the British Indian government also became more interested in the region and took steps to "open up" the Indus³ as a first step towards extending their influence over the territory. The Amirs of Sind naturally grew apprehensive about their future. Hence, although earlier they had generally cold-shouldered Sayyid Aḥmad's proposals for a coalition, they now showed some inclination for an alliance with the *mujāhids*. Encouraged by such signs Nāṣir al-Dīn visited Hyderabad (Sind) and some other places with a view to building up a coalition of the Amirs; but once again their mutual jealousies and an absorbing fear of Ranjit Singh on the one hand and of the English on the other prevented them this time too from joining the *mujāhids*. The Amirs foolishly persuaded themselves that they would be left alone by these powers if only they abstained themselves from any involvement with the *mujāhids*. The Amirs were to be sadly disillusioned before long.

Being disappointed with the Amirs Nāṣir al-Dīn ultimately

¹ Q. Ahmad, *op.cit.*, 81, quoting Mehr, Vol. IV, pp. 171-172.

² See the Br. Pol. Agent Capt. Wade's report dated 18 May 1831 regarding Ranjit Singh's attitude. *Beng. Pol. Cons.*, 17 June 1831, No. 41.

³ In 1830 Alexander Burns of the Bombay army was sent with some horses and other articles as presents "from the English King" to Ranjit Singh up the river Indus. The mission was really intended for exploring the course of that river. The events that followed this mission led to the conclusion of a treaty with the Amirs of Sind in 1832 which opened up the Indus for what was called "commercial purposes" of the English.





found some favour with the Mazaris, a Baluch tribe on the borders of Khairpur (south-west of Dera Ghazi Khan district). The latter had for sometime past been on inimical terms with the Sikhs, particularly since the capture of their border fortress of Rohjan in August 1836 by Ranjit Singh's governor of Multan. In alliance with the Mazaris Nāṣir al-Dīn attempted to recover Rohjan in November 1837; but was defeated by the Sikh forces mainly because of the last-minute desertion by the Mazaris themselves.¹ Thwarted in that attempt the *mujāhids* now moved to Bhawalpur; but the ruler of that place forced them to leave his territory. Thereupon they fell back on Shikarpur. Its ruler, Rustam Khan, was somewhat favourably disposed towards the *mujāhids* and, according to one report, granted them a *jāgir* "sufficient for the support of 500 men."² By that time, however, the British interest in Sind had grown stronger. Accordingly, the British Indian authorities began to put pressure upon Rustam Khan through their agent at Amritsar (C.M. Wade) to dissociate himself with the *mujāhids* and otherwise to see that they did not in any way interfere with the British navigation on the Indus.³ Nothing untoward happened, however, and the *mujāhids* under Nāṣir al-Dīn Dehlawī stayed on in Shikarpur till the outbreak of the first Anglo-Afghan war in 1839.

While Nāṣir al-Dīn had been engaged in his efforts in Sind, Wilāyat 'Alī struck upon a bold plan to effect a *coup-d'état* in Hyderabad, Deccan, and thus to win over that state to the cause of the liberation movement. The plan was made against the background of the growing British influence in that state. Following a series of political manœuvres and treaties a British Resident had been posted there to whom the Nizam had virtually abrogated all political powers. The prospect of bringing about a revolution against this state of affairs presented itself to Wilāyat 'Alī because of the conversion of the Nizām's brother, Mubariz al-Daulah, to the cause of the *jihād* movement. In the early thirties

¹ Q. Ahmad, *op.cit.*, 86 quoting Mehr, Vol. IV, p. 192.

² *Ind. Pol. Cons.*, 6 April 1840, No. 223. See also Mallick, *op.cit.*, p. 118.

³ Br. Pol. Agent at Amritsar to Rustam Khan, 15 April 1838, *Board's Collection*, 80647, quoted in Mallick, *op.cit.*, 118.

Wilāyat 'Alī had preached the doctrines of reform and *jihād* in that state where he also married the daughter of a local nobleman. Wilāyat 'Alī also left two of his assistants, Mawlawī Muhammad 'Abbās and Zain al-Ābedīn, both from the Bengal Presidency, to continue the work there. They endeared themselves with the Nizām's brother and became in course of time his close associates and confidants. Under their influence Mubariz al-Daulah ultimately became a disciple of Wilāyat 'Alī. The conversion of this prince encouraged Wilāyat 'Alī to conceive the plan of placing him upon the throne of Hyderabad. The plan was facilitated also by a widespread discontent among a number of princes and rulers of southern and central India like the Raja of Satara and the princes of Jodhpur, Udaigiri, Bhopal and Rampur, caused by the British policy of conquest and annexation. Some of these princes even entered into secret correspondence with the emissaries of Wilāyat 'Alī.¹ The latter also took steps to infiltrate and win over the units of the "Native" troops stationed at Hyderabad and other places. His emissaries got in touch with the officers and soldiers in the guise of *faqīrs* and teachers and succeeded in influencing a good many of them.² Mubariz al-Daulah himself took extensive military training for the purpose. Before taking the final step for the intended coup he sent a secret mission, consisting mainly of Wilāyat 'Alī's nominees, to Sind to assess the strength of the *mujāhid* forces there under the command of Nāṣir al-Dīn.³ The British were at that time making preparations for the conquest of Afghanistan. It was Mubariz al-Daulah's plan, therefore, to effect the coup in Hyderabad when the British troops would be away in Afghanistan.

The plan miscarried, however, because it was divulged to the British authorities when it was about to be put into effect. It so happened that a large number of persons arrived in south India at that time from north India, Kabul and Persia. It appears that some of these fresh arrivals were connected with the intended coup. The arrival of these men, however, caused suspicion in the minds of

¹ *Foreign Secret Depts. Consultations*, 10 July 1839, No. 23, quoted in Q. Ahmad, *op.cit.*, p. 125.

² *Ibid.*, p. 126, quoting *For. Depts. Sec. Cons.*, 10 July 1839, No. 23.

³ *Ibid.*, No. 21; See also Q. Ahmad, *op.cit.*, pp. 81 & 126.

the British authorities in south India. On such suspicion the Magistrate of Nellore arrested a north Indian Sikh who, being pressed, gave out clues to the existence of the Mubariz al-Daulah "conspiracy". His disclosures were followed by enquiries which ultimately led to the arrest of Mubariz al-Daulah and his trial by a Commission of Enquiry. The trial continued from June 1839 to April 1840. He was sentenced to imprisonment for life and was confined in the Golkonda fort where he died in 1854. Some of his adherents, who were really Wilāyat 'Alī's emissaries, also were arrested; but they were subsequently released. Mawlawī Muḥammad 'Abbās and Zain al-'Ābedīn, Wilāyat 'Alī's chief agents in Hyderabad, made their escape and joined the latter at Patna.

Thus the attempted coup in Hyderabad and Nāṣir al-Dīn's efforts to build up a coalition of the Amīrs of Sind ended in failure almost simultaneously. Nāṣir al-Dīn was, however, already in touch with the ruler of Afghanistan, Dost Muḥammad. He had sought the *mujāhids*' assistance against the impending British invasion of his territories. In the meantime Nāṣir al-Dīn's hands had been strengthened by the arrival of a large number of recruits from Bengal. Indication about the expected arrival of this "Bengal army" had indeed been given to Mubariz al-Daulah's emissaries when they met Nāṣir al-Dīn at Shikarpur in 1838. The recruits from Bengal obviously arrived in Sind after the departure of that mission. As a result of the arrival of these recruits, however, the number of men under Nāṣir al-Dīn rose from the original 200 to 1000.¹ Acting under instructions from the leaders, he now decided to go to the aid of the Afghan ruler. The move in fact fell in line with the strategy of the *mujāhids* to fight the English in alliance with a Muslim power in that region. With his whole party Nāṣir al-Dīn crossed over to Afghanistan and encamped at Dadur. The British made their attack on Afghanistan in 1839 and marched their troops through Sind in total disregard of their treaty with the Amīrs. From Dadur, Nāṣir al-Dīn sent a party of 300 of his men to assist the Afghans in the defence of Ghazni. The whole party

¹ See *Calcutta Review*, No. Cl., pp. 188-189. Also *J.B.R.A.S.*, XIV, 1878-80, p. 356; *S.A.*, 138.

fell fighting against the English¹ who captured the city. The latter next moved on to Kabul which also fell. Thereafter Naṣīr al-Dīn left Afghanistan with the remnant of his men, then about 700 in number, and after a perilous march through the frontier region reached Sittana either towards the end of 1839 or early in 1840. The *mujāhids* at the latter place, as already mentioned, were then under the command of Aulād 'Alī. He surrendered his command to Nāṣir al-Dīn who, however, was not destined to lead the *mujāhids* for long. He died shortly afterwards and was buried at Sittana. Once again Aulād 'Alī and Nāṣir al-Dīn Manglorī alternately continued to lead the *mujāhid* forces on the frontier till the arrival there of Wilāyat 'Alī and 'Ināyat 'Alī in the mid-forties.

II. THE BRITISH ANNEXATION OF SIND AND THE PANJAB

The march of Wilāyat 'Alī and 'Ināyat 'Alī to the frontier and the next phase of the *jihād* movement have to be related against the background of the British capture of Sind and the Panjab. The Afghan venture of the British Indian authorities ended in an unmitigated disaster. The puppet Shāh Shujā' who was installed on the Afghan throne by the British arms was highly unpopular. The Afghan people rose in rebellion in every direction against the British occupation. Alexander Burns and H. Macnaghten, commanding officers at Kabul and Bala Hisar respectively, were killed by angry mobs in quick succession towards the end of 1841. Even a hastily signed treaty of evacuation did not pacify the wrath of the Afghans. Of the 16000 men who marched out of the cantonments at Bala Hisar only Dr. Brydon reached Jalalabad on 13 January 1842 as the sole survivor. In the wake of this disaster Lord Ellenborough succeeded Lord Auckland as Governor-General of India in February 1842. His Afghan policy was simply one of crude vengeance. He decided that the British forces should withdraw from Afghanistan by inflicting some signal and decisive blow. Accordingly General Pollock was sent from Peshawar to Jalalabad. He joined General Knott who had been stationed at Kandahar. The joint British forces then defeated the Afghan leader Akbar Khan in two successive battles and captured Kabul

¹ *Calcutta Review*, No. Cl, pp. 188-189.

on 16 September 1842. Pollock and Knott then wreaked a terrible vengeance by blowing up the great bazar of Kabul and then, on 12 October, withdrew from Afghanistan by way of the Khybar Pass. On Ellenborough's express orders they also brought with them the gates of Sultān Maḥmūd Ghaznawī's tomb, said to be those that originally belonged to the Somnath temple and removed by the Sultān in the course of his campaigns. In fact, the structures were only of a similar pattern and of a much later date. The "recovery" of these gates was much advertised by the British Indian authorities in order to win the sympathy of the Indian Hindus by championing their cause retrospectively, so to say, from an event of more than eight hundred years old.¹

Further, Ellenborough sought a more tangible compensation for the loss of British prestige and resources in the annexation of Sind. Already on the eve of the Afghan expedition the treaty of 1832 with the Amirs had been openly brushed aside; and in 1839 a new treaty was imposed upon them compelling them to pay three lakhs (300,000) of rupees for a "subsidiary force". Now, after the Afghan disaster, Charles Napier was sent as supreme commander in Sind to effect its annexation. "We have no right to seize Sind", wrote Napier in his diary, "yet we shall do so and a very advantageous, useful, humane piece of rascality it will be." He offered new terms of settlement to the Amirs asking for the cession of substantial portions of their territory and then, without waiting for their reply and assuming that they had rejected the offer, captured the fortress of Imamgarh. This provocation resulted in a tumultuous popular attack on the British residency at Hyderabad which provided the pretext for Napier to declare war upon the Amirs. They were defeated at Miani in February 1843 and were exiled. Sind was annexed to the British Indian dominion.

The British Indian authorities next turned their attention to the Panjab. There Ranjit Singh died in 1839. Even his rule of blood and iron for about half a century had failed to weld the different Sikh elements into a united nation, not to speak of

¹ Sultān Maḥmūd's Somnath expedition took place in 1025 A.C.

forging a Muslim-Sikh "partnership". Accordingly, his death was immediately followed by an era of internecine quarrels, intrigues and struggles among the different Sikh groups. This situation was only favourable for the British designs of expansion. In 1845, following some border clashes, the British Indian forces marched into the Panjab and finally defeated the Sikh forces at Sobraon on 10 February 1846. By the treaty of Lahore, 9 March 1846, the Sikhs were obliged to cede the Jalandhar Doab (the territory between the rivers Sutlej and Beas) and to pay an indemnity of 500,000 sterling pounds. Since the Sikh treasury ran short of cash, a further territory to the west between the Beas and the Indus including Kashmir and upper Hazara was also ceded to the British in lieu of the major part of the indemnity. The latter did not however take this territory under their direct administration but sold it for about 10 million rupees to Golab Singh, the Sikh (Dogra) governor of Hazara, who necessarily became a subsidiary ally. The rest of the Panjab also virtually passed under the British control, for though the "government of the maharaja" over the "unceded" territory was recognized, a British resident (Sir Henry Lawrence) was posted at Lahore nominally to "advise" but practically to exercise the real authority behind that government.

III. THE MIGRATION OF 1843 AND THE FIRST ENCOUNTER WITH THE BRITISH

This expansion of the British authority over the former dominions of Ranjit Singh brought them face to face with the *mujāhids*. Already during Ranjit Singh's life-time the Muslim chiefs of Hazara and the adjoining region, as also the Muslims of Kashmir were endeavouring to regain their independence from Sikh control. After Ranjit Singh's death many of these chiefs had asserted independence for all practical purposes. Under this situation the new British protégé Golab Singh did not gain an easy possession of Kashmir. He could secure his position there only after suppressing the local Muslim opposition with the help of British arms. In both lower and upper Hazara, however, there developed strong centres of resistance to the Anglo-Sikh intrusion. One of the chiefs, Sayyid Zāmin Shāh of Khagan valley,

now courted the alliance of the *mujāhids*. In pursuance of that policy he even wrote a letter to Wilāyat 'Alī at Patna inviting him to go to the frontier and take up the unfinished work of Sayyid Aḥmad, for which circumstances were then favourable.¹

Zāmin Shāh's invitation reached Wilāyat 'Alī towards the end of 1842, shortly after his return from Arabia where he had gone on pilgrimage and had spent almost two years there travelling to different parts of the peninsula including Najd and Yaman. At the latter place he met the famous Qādī al-Shawkānī from whom he obtained a certificate of proficiency in religious exegesis and also brought with him a number of the former's works.² Incidentally, this fact is noteworthy, for Qādī al-Shawkānī was deeply influenced by Shaikh Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Wahhāb's ideas. Wilāyat 'Alī's contact with him and the obtaining of a certificate of proficiency from him is a definite indication that Wilāyat 'Alī came in touch with the Arabian reform movement and was influenced at least by one of its protagonists. It is also significant that he visited Najd at a time when the *Salafis* under Imām Faisal ibn Turkī were regaining their ground there by throwing out the forces of Egyptian intervention.³ Further, the books and tracts brought by Wilāyat 'Alī from Arabia at that time appear to have included a work on the *Salafī* movement written by 'Abd Allah, grandson of Shaikh Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Wahhāb, which gained circulation in Bengal and other parts of India shortly afterwards.⁴

Be that as it may, nothing could be more encouraging to Wilāyat 'Alī than the invitation of Zāmin Shah, for, as already indicated, Wilāyat 'Alī had been all these years building up a wide-spread *jihād* organization in the Bengal Presidency and at the same time sending recruits and funds to the frontier for the purpose of such a liberation movement. On receipt of Zāmin

¹ T.S., 122-123, quoted in Q. Ahmad, *op.cit.*, 108.

² *Ibid.*, 106.

³ See 'Uthmān ibn Bashār al-Najdī, *'Unwān al-Majd Fī Tārīkh-i-Najd* (compiled in 1270 H/1953-54), Part II., Riyadh, n.d., 77-92.

⁴ J.O'Kinealy, "Translation of an Arabic Pamphlet on the History and Doctrines of the Wahhābis, written by 'Abdullah, grandson of 'Abdul Wahhāb, the founder of Wahhābism", *J.A.S.B.*, 1874, No. 1., 68-82. 'Abd Allah, with several other *Salafī* leaders, were put to death in 1818 by Ibrāhīm Pasha when he took Dirayah.

Shāh's invitation, therefore, Wilāyat 'Alī decided to go to the frontier with his followers. Preparatory to that he planned an intensive recruitment drive in Bengal. For that purpose he sent 'Ināyat 'Alī, Zain al-'Ābedīn and some other chosen preachers and organizers to Bengal early in 1843. Their activities there were necessarily more hectic and extensive this time, for though both Wilāyat 'Alī and 'Ināyat 'Alī had previously visited Bengal several times, it was only in this year that these activities attracted the attention of the authorities.¹ For instance, writing on 29 March 1843, the Superintendent of Police of the Lower Provinces, W. Dampier, informed the Bengal government that "several Mahomedan Moollahs", of whom the leading man was a "native of Patna called Enayet Alle", had been proceeding through "the districts of Baraset, Jessore, Pabna, Rajshahye &c., preaching a religious war against the Sikhs and endeavouring to procure recruits and money for that purpose."² Dampier added that though "not much success" had hitherto attended the efforts of these preachers, they had "received contributions to some amount." He further informed the government that he would "direct the Magistrates to warn the people against being seduced from their homes and families by these men, and also to prevent quietly the holding of meetings by them for the purpose of preaching a war against the allies of the government..."³

Dampier's main fears were the possibility of a junction between those preachers and the *Farā'idī* population of eastern Bengal, in which case, he feared, there would be a "danger of an outbreak in these provinces." Shortly after he had written this report he found that the preachers, specially 'Ināyat 'Alī and "Zynooddeen of Hyderabad" had actually arrived at Dhaka where Dampier himself had his headquarters. He therefore addressed another communication to the government adding that the preachers had "fixed upon a place called Narayanpore near Jungypore in Moorshedabad District as the spot where their followers are first to collect and afterwards proceed to the

¹ Before 1843 the Bengal government were only vaguely aware of the *jihād* movement in Bengal, and that also through their investigations in Titu Mir's rising.

² *Beng. Cr. Judl. Prods.*, 29 May 1843, No. 21.

³ *Ibid.*

North-West." He further informed the government that the Magistrate of Murshidabad had "notice of these proceedings" and that according to his information "about 500 or 600 people" were supposed to "have been influenced by the representations of these men to prepare to leave their homes."¹

The "Zynooddeen of Hyderabad" mentioned by Dampier was in fact Mawlawī Zain al-‘Ābedīn of Sylhet who had come to be associated with Hyderabad because of his involvement in the Mubariz al-Daulah episode. The Superintendent of Police, however, soon made some contact with ‘Ināyat ‘Alī who, Dampier stated in another letter to the government, reportedly "denied having preached a religious war against the Sikhs and stated that, the parties were merely going to visit their Peer at Bareilly."² ‘Ināyat ‘Alī, however, soon left Dhaka much to the relief of Dampier who was further happy to find that the parties of men who "had collected to attend Enayat Allee to the North-West" had been persuaded to disperse at the instance of the Dhaka Magistrate, T.C. Loch, who succeeded in doing so "through the influence of his head native officer and some other Mahommedan gentlemen."³

Whether those men really returned to their homes is doubtful. At any rate, in another communication after only three days (13 April) Dampier stated on the basis of a report received from the Bhagalpur Magistrate (on the border of Bengal, in Bihar) that "men from Baraset, Jessore, Mymensingh and Rajshahye" had passed through that place "in different bodies to the number of eight or nine Hundred, stating that they were proceeding to Mecca."⁴ Dampier once again sighed his relief that the preachers had left that part of the country where the *Farā'idīs* prevailed most and that the districts of Faridpur and Barisal, over which the latter's influence extended, were not visited by the other preachers."⁵ It may be noted that this last statement of Dampier's was not correct, for, as indicated in the previous

¹ Dampier to govt., (No. 680) 5 April 1843, *ibid.*, No. 22.

² Dampier to govt., (No. 714) 10 April 1843, *ibid.*, No. 22A.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ Dampier to Bengal govt., (No. 736) 13 April 1843, *ibid.*, No. 23.

⁵ *Ibid.*

chapter on the basis of the statements of the *jihād* leaders in Jessore and Faridpur, 'Ināyat 'Alī had visited at least the western part of the latter district (Patharghata) during his tour of 1843.¹

The government's reaction to the activities of 'Ināyat 'Alī and his associates in Bengal was necessarily moulded by the tenor of Dampier's reports which expressed apprehension not so much about the *jihād* preachers as about the probability of an outbreak of the *Farā'idī* population of eastern Bengal. Hence, in reply to Dampier's communications the government generally instructed him to ask the magistrates of the different districts to keep an eye on the preachers who might be moving about in their jurisdictions and to send in weekly reports "on the quietude of their districts"; adding that Dampier himself should visit the districts that were "most obnoxious to suspicion."² Dampier carried out these instructions and finally informed the government that though the excitement which prevailed had subsided, there was no doubt that "Enayut Allee and his Mollahs did preach the doctrine of a religious War" and that "several Kafilas [*Kāfilas*] of Mahommedans from Mymensingh, Pubnah, Jessore, Nuddea &c. to the amount of 500 or 600 passed thro' Bahugulpore, stating that they were proceeding to Mecca, each Kafilā being under a separate leader."³ The government apparently remained satisfied with the measures adopted by Dampier. Having been informed for the first time, so to say, about the activities of the *jihād* leaders in Bengal, the government had naturally not a very clear idea about the extent and implications of the movement. Moreover, basing their judgement necessarily on the tenor of the Police Superintendent's reports, they treated the matter in conjunction with the *Farā'idī* movement, viewing the question as essentially one of internal peace of Bengal.

Be that as it may, the official correspondence of 1843 noted above is important in the history of the movement. It shows that even early in the career of the *Farā'idī* leader Dudu Miyān the *jihād* movement had spread in eastern Bengal, and that by 1843 at

¹ *Supra*,

² Bengal govt. to Dampier (No. 348), 24 April 1843, *Beng. Cr. Judl. Prodgs.*, 29 May 1843, No. 24.

³ Dampier to Govt. of Bengal, 13 May 1843, (No. 1001), *ibid.*, No. 25.

the latest, it had its organizational centres established in Dhaka and Mymensingh districts wherefrom a number of persons proceeded to the north-west frontier in that year. It is also noteworthy that Narainpur in the Jangipur subdivision of Murshidabad district, which was stated to be the place where the recruits were to collect before proceeding towards the north-west, was the very place under Rafiq Mandal's charge (father of Amīr al-Dīn Mandal) which was subsequently transferred to the jurisdiction of Malda and which became more popularly known as Sondip Narainpur. Clearly by 1843, i.e. before the 'Alī brothers had migrated to the north-west frontier, Sondip Narainpur had developed into a head-centre of the Bengal district centres. Speaking about the place in that year Dampier stated that it was "notorious for the fanaticism of its Mahomedan inhabitants and for the tenacity with which they combine and act together on all occasions."¹

The number of persons proceeding to the *jihād* in that year was variously stated by Dampier. In his communication of 5 April 1843 and drawing his information from the Jangipur magistrate Dampier stated that about 500 to 600 people had been prepared "to leave their homes". Next, in his letter of 13 April he stated on the basis of a report from the Bhagalpur magistrate that "eight or nine hundred" persons had passed through that place; and again in his last letter (13 May) Dampier stated, again quoting the Bhagalpur magistrate, that 500 or 600 persons had proceeded to the north-west frontier through that place. Unless these figures refer to separate groups, there is clearly a discrepancy between the two figures said to have been supplied by the Bhagalpur magistrate. At any rate, these figures were obviously mere approximations based most probably on information gathered by subordinate officials. There were doubtless other batches who passed through unnoticed. It would appear from the statements of some of the persons who actually went to the *jihād* that year and remained connected with it till the last that at least 2000 persons from Bengal went to the frontier that year.²

¹ *Ibid.*, para 4.

² See the statements of 'Uthmān 'Alī, Sirāj al-Dīn, Nāṣir al-Dīn and Irfān 'Alī, *op.cit.*

The recruits from Bengal and Bihar were despatched from Patna in small batches. Thus having forwarded a sufficient number of men and also having procured the necessary funds for the project 'Ināyat 'Alī started from Patna in November 1844 and reached the frontier by the middle of the following year. Almost all the important leaders and workers in Bengal and Bihar accompanied or preceded him to the frontier that year. Prominent among these persons were Mawlawī Maqṣūd 'Alī of Dinapur, 'Abd Allah Kawaidī of Muzaffarpur (Bihar), Zain al-'Ābedīn of Sylhet, Mawlawī 'Abbās 'Alī, Nazir Raihān al-Dīn and Mawlawī Nāṣir al-Dīn of Jessore, Mu'azzam Sardar of 24-Parganahs, Muḥammad Sirāj al-Dīn of Hākimpur (Khulna), Mawlawī 'Amīn al-Dīn and Qārī 'Umed 'Alī of Barisal, Nizāmī of Faridpur, Qāzi Miyān Jān of Pabna and Rafiq Mandal of Murshidabad-Malda.¹

Immediately on his arrival in the Hazara district 'Ināyat 'Alī busied himself with the task of building up a coalition of the chiefs of that region with the help of Zāmin Shāh of Kaghan (north Hazara). The Sikh authority in that part had been much weakened because of their internal dissensions. Taking advantage of this situation 'Ināyat 'Alī succeeded in the latter part of 1845 in recovering Balakot by driving out the Sikh forces from there. This success was followed by his election as 'Amīr by the chiefs, the *mujāhids* and the *'ulamā'* of the place in *Dhu al-Hijja* 1261 (November 1845).² Shortly afterwards the forts of 'Garhi-Habibullah and Fathgarh in central Hazara were also recovered from the Sikhs (December 1845 - January 1846). 'Ināyat 'Alī pushed these successes further into southern Hazara where as many as 20 forts and strongholds around Abbottabad now came under the *mujāhids'* possession. 'Ināyat 'Alī now organized a regular government over the liberated territory which now extended over the whole of Hazara district and also some frontier tracts on its east and west. Officers were appointed to enforce the rules of *sharī'at* in this re-founded Islamic state on the frontier and

¹ See for instance the statements of 'Umed 'Alī and 'Abd Allah Kawaidī, *Beng. Judl. Prods.*, April 1869, No. 214 and Oct. 1869, Nos. 77-78.

² A joint-letter by the Bihar and Bengal leaders on the frontier, written on 9 Dhu al-Qa'dah, 1262 H (29 Oct. 1846), bound up with the P.U. MSS of Sayyid Ahmad's letters, pp. 220-229, quoted in Q. Ahmad, *op. cit.*, 109-113.

to collect taxes and tributes from the confederated tribes and peoples.¹ Some of the officers and their assignments were as follows:²

Maqṣūd 'Alī	: Commander of the forces.
Sirāj Allah Kawaidī	: Drill Instructor and in-charge of military training.
Sirāj al-Dīn (also called Siraj al-Daulah, of Hakimpur, Khulna)	: In-charge of armoury and stable.
Nazīr Raiḥān al-Dīn (Jessore)	: Special officer in-charge of court matters and Supdt. of Prisons.
Muhammad 'Alī (Azimabad, Patna)	: Jamadar of the main gate of Fathgarh, now fixed as the capital of the Islamic state.
Hājī Shamsheer Khān (of Sahebganj, Sonthal Parganas)	: Jamadar of the body-guards at the capital.
Bahādur Khān (do)	: Collector of revenue, the capital area.
Ṣūfī Mu'izz al-Dīn (?)	: In-charge of stores.
Nizāmī (of Faridpur)	: In-charge of grain stores.
Ramzān 'Alī Khān (of Patna district)	: Officer in-charge of Balakot fort.
Munshī Ghulām 'Alī (Patna)	: Munshi of the above fort
Munshī Shuja' al-Dīn (?)	: Thanadar of Mankali tower in Jadun district.
Riyāsat Allah (?)	: Darogha of Manshera fort.
Hājī Gadai Rampurwala (of Rampur, U.P.)	: Collector of revenue, Manshera.

The state thus founded by 'Ināyat 'Alī did not however have a peaceful existence. The British had already entered the Panjab in 1846 and had forced the Sikhs, as mentioned above, to conclude the treaty of Amritsar. Being thus freed from their entanglements with the British the Sikhs made a last attempt to recover their hold on Hazara. A Sikh force of about 6000 appeared near Naoshera early in July (1846) to dislodge the *mujāhids* from their new position. The encounters with the Sikh forces continued for about

¹ The joint-letter referred to in the previous note contains details of tributes fixed or realized from different places as follows: Tribute from Kanhar valley Rs. 16,000; from Bhogrmang valley Rs. 5000; from the Salars tribe Rs. 3,000; from the Hasanzaïs, Rs. 30,000; from Muzaffarabad Rs. 40,000; from Karna Rs. 10,000; from Nandhiar Rs. 20,000 and from Alali Rs. 20,000. Besides these 'ushr demanded from several places was stated to be not less than the amount of tribute. *Ibid.*, 131.

² *Ibid.*, 129-130.

two months, from July through August. They were ultimately driven back with heavy losses early in September.

Shortly after this victory Wilāyat 'Alī arrived at the frontier from Patna accompanied by Yahya 'Alī, Faiyāz 'Alī and Akbar 'Alī (sons of Ilāhī Bakhsh, brothers of Aḥmad Allah) and bringing in further reinforcements in men and money. 'Ināyat 'Alī now surrendered the leadership of the community and the state to Wilāyat 'Alī. About a month after Wilāyat 'Alī's arrival the Bengal and Bihar leaders on the frontier sent a report to Patna in the form of a joint-letter written on 29 October 1846 (9 Dhu al-Qa'dah 1262) narrating the events since 'Ināyat 'Alī's election as 'Amīr in the previous year. The letter ended with an allusion to the delicate question of the reappearance of the *Imām* which, it said, some believed while others did not, adding that whether one believed it or not, the *Imāmat* (Islamic state) was already in existence. The writers therefore invited their "brothers" to escape from the rule of the *Kāfirs* and join them on the frontier where there were enough opportunities of employment for them in various capacities.¹

It appears that the joint-letter was in fact written to counteract the misunderstandings that had developed over the question of reappearance of the *Imām*; for it was precisely at that point of time that the defection of Zain al-Ābedīn, one of Wilāyat 'Alī's chief lieutenants and an active instrument behind the Mubariz al-Daulah episode in Hyderabad (Deccan), took place over that very issue. Zain al-Ābedīn had gone to the frontier sincerely believing in the report of the reappearance of Sayyid Aḥmad whom he knew personally. He insisted upon meeting the Sayyid who was stated to have been living in a neighbouring hill. His entreaties being repeatedly rejected by 'Ināyat 'Alī, Zain al-Ābedīn one day entered the hills disregarding the remonstrances of the guards placed at its entrance, only to find that three figures of straw had been placed inside the cave. He was sadly disillusioned and left the frontier along with some others, declaring the report of the *Imām*'s reappearance a "deception" and

¹ The joint-letter, *op. cit.*

denouncing 'Ināyat 'Alī as an "idolator".¹ This defection of so active and efficient a lieutenant like Zain al-'Ābedīn was a serious blow to the movement. It was only overcome by the organizing and preaching ability of the Patna leaders. The joint-letter written by the Bengal and Bihar leaders from the frontier was part of the effort to counteract the effect of Zain al-'Ābedīn's defection.

The life of the re-established Islamic state on the frontier was however cut short by British intervention. After the treaty of Amritsar (9 March 1846) the British Indian authorities took steps to establish their effective control over the whole of the Panjab and to help their ally Golab Singh secure his position in Kashmir. Henry Lawrence himself moved with a force into Jammu and secured the possession of Kashmir for Golab Singh by suppressing local Muslim opposition to the deal. Next Lawrence sent General Abbott at the head of an Anglo-Sikh force to recover Hazara nominally for the Sikhs but really for the British. By a show of force as well by diplomacy Abbott succeeded in inducing a number of the tribal chiefs including Zāmin Shah, hitherto the *mujāhids'* ally, to desert the latter. Early in 1847 the inevitable encounter took place between the *mujāhids* and the Anglo-Sikh forces at Dhoop (Kaghan pass). Deserted by their tribal allies the *mujāhids* were defeated and surrounded by the enemy forces. Wilāyat 'Alī and 'Ināyat 'Alī, along with other leaders and assistants were at last persuaded to surrender on a promise of safe-conduct. They were then sent back to Patna where they were required to give an undertaking not to leave that place for four years.² The remnant of the *mujāhid* forces escaped to Sittana where they continued to remain under the command of Aulād 'Alī. Some lieutenants like Mawlawī 'Amīn al-Dīn and Qārī 'Umed 'Alī of Barisal and Sirāj al-Dīn of Hakimpur (Khulna) came along with the Patna leaders upto Delhi and stationed themselves there. Incidentally, the encounter at Dhoop early in 1847 was the first direct armed conflict of the *mujāhids* with the forces of the British Indian authorities. After the defeat of the

¹ *Malda Report*, para 9. The story was reproduced by J. O' Kinealy in the *Calcutta Review* for 1870 from where it found its way into Hunter's book.

² *S.R.B.G.*, XLII, p. 132. See also statement of 'Abd Allah Kawaidi, 12 October, 1869, *op.cit.*; also *E.O.M.*, 10 July, 1871; *Calcutta Review*, 1870, 381-382.

mujāhids in that encounter the English obtained direct control of Hazara by an exchange of territory with Golab Singh and appointed James Abbott the first Deputy Commissioner over the district in 1849.

IV: THE SECOND MIGRATION TO THE FRONTIER: DEATH OF WILĀYAT 'ALĪ

The 'Alī brothers were determined to return to the frontier at the earliest opportunity. Hence they utilized the time of their forced stay at Patna in making further preparations for that purpose. Thus, though bound down not to leave Patna for four years 'Ināyat 'Alī visited Bengal shortly afterwards for organizational and preaching work. On the frontier too the departure of the 'Alī brothers did not make all things smooth for the British there. Zāmin Shāh of Kaghan, who had deserted the *mujāhids*, soon found himself in trouble with the English who ultimately attacked and expelled him from the Kaghan valley and brought it under their control. Similarly Jahāndād Khān, the chief of Amb lying to the skirts of the Black Mountains to the west of Hazara, could not maintain his complete freedom and found it necessary to become a feudatory of the English. This action of his, in turn, incurred the hostility of the Hasanzaïs, a branch of the Yusufzai tribe, who lived on the western slopes of the Black Mountains. Soon there were clashes between the Hasanzaïs and Jahāndād Khān of Amb from time to time over trade and other matters. Also Sayyid Akbar Shāh of the Swat valley grew apprehensive of the British expansionist policy and sent messages to the Patna leaders for returning to the frontier. Thus the situation once again appeared favourable for a tribal coalition against the British.

Encouraged by these developments Wilāyat 'Alī with his family left Patna for the frontier in September 1849. He proceeded by easy stages, preaching the message of *jihād* at important places on the way. At Delhi he stayed for two months during which he was entertained in a public audience by the emperor Bahādur Shāh in the presence of even the British Resident there. Wilāyat 'Alī left Delhi only when he found that the latter had been growing inquisitive about him.¹ It was in the course of this visit to Delhi

¹ S.A., 164-166; also statements of 'Abd Allah Kawaidi and 'Umed 'Alī, *op.cit.*

that Wilāyat 'Alī specifically appointed Mawlawī 'Amin al-Dīn, Qārī Umed 'Alī and Sirāj al-Dīn (all from Bengal), who had been staying there since 1847, his agents at that place. Similarly Mawlawī 'Abbās 'Alī (of Jessore) along with some others were appointed agents at Ludhiana (Panjab).¹ Other agents were also placed at suitable stations to look after the passage of men and money to the frontier. Before crossing over to the frontier Wilāyat 'Alī waited for the arrival of some of his relatives and other men. His son 'Abd Allah, accompanied by Yahyā 'Alī, Faiyāz 'Alī and a party of 250 men joined him towards the end of 1850. 'Inayāt 'Alī, before starting for the frontier, again visited Bengal early in 1850. As in 1843, this time also his activities there attracted the attention of the authorities. In particular, he was found in Rajshahi inciting the people, in cooperation with Ḥājī Munīr al-Dīn of that place, to go to the *jihād*.² Having returned from Bengal 'Ināyat 'Alī placed his younger brother Farhat Ḥusain in charge of the Patna centre and started for the frontier by the middle of 1850 and joined Wilāyat 'Alī in the Panjab in November of that year. The two brothers and their retinue then crossed over to the frontier early in 1851. It was only at one point near the frontier that the British Indian police made some attempt to prevent the passage of these men beyond the British territories.³

It appears that after their arrival at Sittana there developed some differences between Wilāyat 'Alī and 'Ināyat 'Alī over policy matters. The latter, supported by the Bengal recruits, wanted immediately to commence hostilities against the English, at least against their feudatory Jahāndād Khān of Amb who had been obstructing the passage of recruits and materials through his territory to Sittana. Wilāyat 'Alī, on the other hand, counselled moderation and was in favour of waiting to make better preparations.⁴ This differences in the attitudes of the two brothers

¹ *Ibid.*

² *S.R.B.G.*, XLII, 132; also J. Tayler, *A Narrative of events connected with my removal from commissionership in 1857*, p. 121.

³ *Calcutta Review*, No. CI (1870), 382-383. In fact the details noted by J.O' Kinealy in his articles in the *Calcutta Review* are taken from 'Abd Allah Kawaidī. See below.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 383.

led to a temporary division of the *mujāhids* into two groups. 'Ināyat 'Alī and his supporters moved to Mangal Thana in the Mahaban range, the habitat of the Khudi-Khel tribe; while Wilāyat 'Alī remained at Sittana with another group of the *mujāhids*. This happened in October-November 1851 (Muharrām 1268 H.)¹

The better preparations for which Wilāyat 'Alī wanted to wait might have reference to the attempt, then in progress, of winning over the 4th Regiment of Native Infantry stationed by the British at Rawalpindi. This regiment, as Hunter points out,² would have been one of the first to be sent against the *mujāhids* in case of hostilities. The plan to tamper with the fidelity of these troops was no new strategy for Wilāyat 'Alī. It had been tried, as noted before, in connection with the Mubariz al-Daulah affair in Hyderabad in 1839. A similar attempt was made in 1845 with regard to the troops stationed at Patna.³ Wilāyat 'Alī seems to have worked out the plan to tamper with the Rawalpindi regiment during his rather long stay in the Panjab prior to his crossing over to Sittana. Be that as it may, it is significant that the same Mawlawī 'Abbās 'Alī, who had been employed for a similar work in Hyderabad in 1838-39 and who was now placed as an agent at Ludhiana, was now engaged for the attempt of 1851-52. He was assisted by the agents stationed at Rawalpindi, namely, Jawhar 'Alī, Kalīm al-Dīn and Qāsim 'Alī, from Bengal, and Maqsūd 'Alī and Khurram 'Alī, from Dinapur, Bihar. These men got in touch with the regimental Munshī, Wali Allah, and the "native" doctor, Rahmat Allah. Through them a number of persons in the regiment including another "native" doctor were influenced. The latter doctor in fact deserted the regiment and joined the *mujāhids* at Sittana. Arrangements were then made through Wali Allah and Rahmat Allah to procure guns, swords and other materials for the *mujāhids*.

The plan failed to mature, however, on account of disclo-

¹ Mehr, IV. 276, on the basis of some personal papers of Abd al-Majid, son of 'Ināyat 'Alī.

² Hunter, *op. cit.*, 22.

³ The connection of the Patna case with the *jihād* leaders was first suggested by G. B. Malleison (*History of the Indian Mutiny*, 2nd edition, London, 1878, Vol. I, 547 ff.). Recently Q. Ahmad (*op. cit.*, 159-68) has added some more arguments in support of that conclusion.

tures made early in 1852 by a "deserter" who, in an anonymous letter to the Hazara Deputy Commissioner, Major Abbott, informed him of the existence of the "conspiracy" together with the names of the above-mentioned persons and a general account of the movement and its leaders both at Patna and on the frontier; adding that Sayyid Akbar Shāh of Swat was in alliance with them for a war against the English.¹ The Panjab authorities acted promptly on this information and arrested 'Abbās 'Alī at Ludhiana, Maqṣūd 'Alī, Khurram 'Alī and the other agents at Rawalpindi together with Wali Allah, Rahmat Allah and more than 50 others from the 4th Regiment. A good deal of "treasonable" correspondence was seized from the Rawalpindi and Ludhiana agents. The clues supplied by this correspondence as also by the depositions of some of the arrested persons² led to further enquiries and searches at Delhi, Patna and some other places. And though on getting prior information about the impending search the Patna leader Ahmad Allah had destroyed all the important correspondence belonging to him and had also assembled six or seven thousand men to resist any attempt at search by the magistrate of that place,³ an earlier search carried out in the house of Husain Ali Khan, a servant of Ahmad Allah's, and those carried out at Delhi and Rai Bareilly brought to light further correspondence which clearly established the connection between the Sittana camp and the Patna headquarters. One of the letters discovered contained a list of 52 halting stages from Patna to Sittana, at each of which there were persons ready to receive and pass on the recruits.⁴

When the matter finally came up before the Governor-General-in-Council the latter (Lord Dalhousie), though convinced of the fact of "treasonable correspondence" between Patna and Sittana, was not inclined to attach much importance to the affair and suggested the trial of only those persons of the 4th Regiment

¹ *Ind. Sec. Cons.*, 26 November, 1852, No. 64 (Encl. to letter of Jhelum Commissioner to Rawalpindi Commissioner, 9 July, 1852).

² For instance the deposition of Khurram Ali, *ibid.*, Encl. 42. This deposition, incidentally, is the earliest extant record showing the differences that had then developed between Wilāyat 'Alī and 'Ināyat 'Alī.

³ *S.R.B.G.*, XLII, 133; also Tayler, *Narrative etc.*, Pt. I., 122n.

⁴ *Ind. Sec. Cons.*, 26 Nov. 1852, No. 64, Encl. 4.

against whom specific evidence existed, and the release of all the others after warning and taking security from them.¹ The Governor-General also turned down a proposal by the Panjab Board of Administration for an attack upon Sittana.² The reason for such an attitude was that since the British penetration into the Panjab there were enough frontier troubles so that the government did not wish to add more to those troubles. "We have already irons enough in the fire on the North-West Frontier without heating another unnecessarily", observed the Governor-General. He was also of the opinion that such intrigues as were revealed by the enquiries of 1852 could "at all times be expected among the Mussulmans of India". It was also felt that if left alone the movement of the "Syud Ahmadees" would die out; while any punishment of the leaders might provide a stimulus for its prospering into dangerous proportions.³ Ultimately, therefore, only the regimental Munshī, Wali Allah, and four others of his colleagues were brought to trial in May 1853. The Munshi and one of his colleagues were sentenced to six years' imprisonment and the remaining three persons to four years' imprisonment. Amidst these developments Wilāyat 'Alī died on the frontier on 5 November 1852.

V. THE BLACK MOUNTAINS AND SITTANA EXPEDITIONS: DEATH OF 'INĀYAT 'ALĪ

Wilāyat 'Alī's death was closely followed by an encounter of the *mujāhids* with the British Indian forces on the Black Mountains, situated on the north-western borders of the Hazara district. It has already been mentioned that the chief of Amb, Jahāndād Khān, now a "subsidiary ally" of the English, had been opposing the passage of the recruits and materials through his territory to Sittana and that 'Ināyat 'Alī's insistence on immediate action against him had caused some differences of opinion between the two brothers. Wilāyat 'Alī's death removed that restraining influence and 'Ināyat 'Alī, now the supreme leader of

¹ Dalhousie's minutes, 26 August and 7 September 1852, *Parl. Pap.* Vol. XLIV, 1872, Paper 161.

² Dalhousie's minute, 11 Nov. 1852, *Ind. Sec. Cons.*, 26 Nov. 1852, No. 65.

³ Minute by F. Currie, member of the Governor General's council, *ibid.*, No. 66.

the *mujāhids* on the frontier, was free to pursue his own line of action. The conflict was precipitated, however, not by him but by Jahāndād Khān and his British allies. The latter, after having established their control over Hazara, undertook to regulate the salt trade of that region. In course of that attempt two British officers over-stepped into the territory of the independent tribe of Hasanzaïs (a branch of the Yusufzaïs) bordering on Amb, and were killed. Under pressure from the British authorities Jahāndād Khān handed over to them for chastisement all the Hasanzaï individuals who happened to be within his territory. Thereupon the Hasanzaïs declared war upon Jahāndād Khān and seized some of his border outposts. Naturally Jahāndād Khān sought the British help against the Hasanzaïs. The help was readily given. A force under Col. Mackeson sent by the Panjab Board of Administration then ascended the Black Mountain range towards the end of 1852, wreaked a terrible vengeance upon the border Hasanzaïs and burnt their villages. The latter now turned towards the *mujāhids* and sought their help. 'Ināyat 'Alī was only eager for such a coalition. He not only responded favourably to their appeal for help but utilized the occasion of the Panjab authorities' aggressiveness to secure the adhesion of some other tribal people, particularly the Akhund (religious leader) of Swat and its chief, Sayyid Akbar Shāh. With their help 'Ināyat 'Alī launched an attack upon Jahāndād Khān's territory and captured the border village of Ashra with the strategic fort of Kotla, situated about a thousand feet on the spur of the Black Mountain, and forced Jahāndād Khān to conclude a treaty of submission. The latter, however, secretly appealed to the British for help. A force under Col. Mackeson and Major Abbott now advanced against the *mujāhids* at Kotla, while Jahāndād Khān, setting aside his recent agreement, marched down from the north. Once again 'Ināyat 'Alī's tribal allies proved unsteady and deserted him at the first approach of the British forces. Being thus deserted by his allies and seeing the danger of being surrounded by the enemies 'Ināyat 'Alī fought a severe rear-guard action and managed to withdraw from Kotla. Khurram 'Alī (also called Karam 'Alī) of Dinapur together with about seventy other *mujāhids* died fighting

heroically in that battle in order to enable the main body of the *mujāhids* and their leader to effect the withdrawal. The British forces then destroyed the adjoining hill tribes who had been friendly to the *mujāhids* but did not march upon Sittana.

The Black Mountain encounter of 1852-53 is generally regarded as the first direct armed clash between the *mujāhids* and the British Indian forces. Strictly speaking, however, the first such encounter had taken place in 1847 when, as already mentioned, both Wilāyat 'Alī and 'Ināyat 'Alī together with a number of the others, were obliged to surrender and were sent back to Patna. Be that as it may, the defeat at Kotla was a great set-back for 'Ināyat 'Alī. According to the statement of one of the wounded *mujāhids* captured by the British, 'Ināyat 'Alī had then with him some 600 recruits and that the main financial help as well as volunteers came from Bengal, while some financial help only came from Tonk and Hyderabad (Deccan). It was stated that while the Nawwab of Tonk used to send annually between 20 and 40 thousand rupees, the yearly contribution of one man from Bengal alone amounted to 40,000.¹ Most probably the person alluded to was the great hide merchant 'Amīr Khān of Calcutta.

For the following few years till the outbreak of the revolts of 1857 'Ināyat 'Alī busied himself chiefly in organizing and training his followers and in inspiring them with a burning desire for liberating the land from the foreign domination. During this period he made Mangal Thana, lying to the west of Sittana in the Khudikhel territory on the spur of the Mahaban Mountain, his headquarters, while the old centre at Sittana continued to be a subordinate station with a section of the *mujāhids* under the charge of Yahyā 'Alī.

The role of the *mujāhids* during the revolts of 1857 needs a separate treatment. For continuity of the narrative, however, the events on the frontier may be briefly noted here. By the time the "mutiny" and revolts broke out in northern India in 1857, 'Ināyat 'Alī had succeeded in securing the adhesion of a section of the Yusufzai and the Panjtar tribes of Swat and the neighbouring area. In the meantime a number of troops of the 55th Infantry at Hoti

¹ Foreign Dept. Pol. Cons., 24 March, 1853, No. 116, quoted in Q. Ahmad, *op.cit.*, 182.

Mardan also revolted and after some wanderings in Swat joined the *mujāhids* at Mangal Thana. Being thus strengthened 'Ināyat 'Alī commenced hostilities against the British by occupying Shaikhjana, a border village within the British jurisdiction. The *mujāhids* then concentrated on Narinji, a strategic village in the hills near the Swat frontier and captured it. A British force under Major Vaughan advanced from Mardan in July and first recaptured Shaikhjana. Then they made successive assaults upon Narinji where the *mujāhids* offered a very tough resistance. They were however ultimately forced to abandon the place. They lost fifty men including the sepoy of the 55th Native Infantry, while 50 others were wounded. The loss on the British side was 5 killed and about 25 wounded. From their mountain fastnesses, however, the *mujāhids* continued to carry on attacks on the British positions. In October 1857 a party of the *mujāhids* under the command of one Shari'at Allah of Bengal made a very daring and surprise night attack upon the British camp at Sahikhjana and destroyed it, the British officer, Lieutenant Horne, barely escaping with his life. The position of the *mujāhids* became desperate, however, on account of the stoppage of supplies of men and money from the east due to the arrest of the *jihād* leaders at Patna at the instance of the magistrate of that place, W. Tayler, and the other events in northern India. Under constant hardships and privations the constitution of 'Ināyat 'Alī gave in. He fell seriously ill at the beginning of 1858 and died in March of that year.

After 'Ināyat 'Alī's death the affairs of the *mujāhids* were managed by a triumvirate of Ikrām Allah, Nūr Allah and Mīr Taqī. Their number was also greatly reduced by death and disease. Worse still, they were soon to face a very large British Indian army which was sent against them. By the beginning of 1858 the British Indian authorities had already recaptured Delhi and had put down the revolts at other places in northern India. Now they turned their attention to the north-west frontier. A British force of about 5000 men under the command of Major General Sydney Cotton, accompanied by Lieutenant-Colonel H. B. Edwardes, the Commissioner and Superintendent of Peshawar,

war Division, came against the *mujāhids* in April 1858. By skilful diplomacy Cotton and Edwardes won over the Uthmānzai tribe, who had hitherto been friendly to the *mujāhids*, and also Jahānadād Khān of Amb, who had in the meantime once again professed his friendship with the *mujāhids*. With the help of these men the British Indian forces entered the hills, burnt the villages allied with the *mujāhids* like Panjtar and Chingli and invested Mangal Thana. Being unable to withstand the British onslaughts the *mujāhids* left Mangal Thana and withdrew to Sittana. Cotton razed the Mangal Thana settlement to the ground. Speaking about that settlement he thus wrote immediately after its destruction:

"Mangal Thana consists of two villages, Upper and Lower. The Lower contains 30 or 40 houses and is occupied by Syuds... Upper Mangal Thana stands on a plateau in the midst of 3 crests, which are themselves out-works while held by the Garrison, but as soon as carried by an Enemy, command the place. On this plateau stood first, the fortified house of Enayut Allee, with enclosures for Hindustanee followers, secondly, the fortified residence of Syud Abbas; and thirdly, Syud Abbas's Citadel, a white masonry tower, the whole having about 30 or 40 houses clustered round them. These fortifications had been laboriously constructed of large stones and fine timber..."¹

After destroying the Mangal Thana settlement Cotton proceeded against Sittana. The *mujāhids* defended themselves gallantly but could not hold themselves against the superior and more numerous British forces and their tribal allies and after heavy losses escaped into the fastnesses of the Mahaban mountain. After destroying the Sittana settlement Sydney Cotton and his forces returned to their camp on 4 May 1858. The loss on the *mujāhids*' side was stated to be between 36 and 60 killed and "many more" wounded. Two prisoners were hanged summarily at Sittana; one was an inhabitant of Rampur and the other a native of Bengal. The loss on the British side was seven killed and 18 wounded.²

With the destruction of the Sittana settlement in 1858 the second and a very important phase of the *jihād* movement may be

¹ Sydney Cotton to Deputy Adjutant General of the Army, 6 May 1858, *Calcutta Gazette*, 16 June 1858, para 15.

² *Ibid*; also H.B. Edwardes to Chief Commissioner, Panjab, 14 May 1858, *Parl. Papers H/C*, 1864, Vol. XLIII, Paper 158 (Papers Relating to the late disturbances in the Northwest Frontier of India), pp. 189-194.

said to have come to an end. The *mujāhids* did not still give up their struggle and continued it for another decade. That final phase would be noted in the following chapter. Meanwhile it may be observed that the Bengal Muslims played a very significant and major role in all the important developments in this second phase of the movement. Thus the attempted coup in Hyderabad in 1838-39 was largely the work of 'Abbās 'Alī and Zain al-Abedīn, two of Wilāyat 'Alī's lieutenants from Bengal. The forces with which Naṣir al-Dīn marched into Afghanistan in 1839-40 to the aid of the Afghan ruler against the British invasion consisted overwhelmingly of *mujāhids* from Bengal, or "the Bengal army", as it was called. Recruits and monetary contributions mainly from Bengal and Bihar enabled Wilāyat 'Alī and 'Ināyat 'Alī to make their bold attempts on the frontier in 1843-47 and again in 1849-58. As will be seen presently, the support given by the Bengal Muslims even after the devastating events of 1857-58 accounts for the continuation of the movement for another decade.

CHAPTER XVI THE INTERVENING REVOLTS (1857-1858)

I. THE MUJĀHIDS AND THE OUTBREAKS OF 1857-58

It was in the midst of the continued struggle of the *mujāhids* that widespread "mutiny" and revolts took place within the British Indian dominions in 1857-58. The role of the *mujāhids* in those outbreaks and their impact on Bengal are briefly noted here.

There exists a rather vast literature as well as voluminous records on the revolts of 1857-58. The scope of the present work would not admit of any detailed discussion of the causes or events of these uprisings. It would suffice to remember that starting with the "mutiny" of a few contingents at the Barrackpur cantonment near Calcutta early in 1857 the risings quickly spread in scope and extent engulfing the whole of central and northern India upto Delhi where the insurgents rallied round the old but hitherto powerless Mughal emperor Bahādur Shāh II. At other places the risings continued with more or less severity under different groups and leaders. These risings and their suppression by the British authorities occupied the whole of 1857 and the greater part of 1858 in the course of which acts of cold-blooded brutality were committed on both sides.

The causes of these revolts have been generally discussed by scholars and writers under "political", "social", "religious", "economic", "cultural" and such other convenient heads. Without entering into the details and identifying each and every specific grievance, these causes may be reduced broadly into two: (1) discontent with the foreign rulers — the various groups or leaders being aggrieved differently with regard to different aspects of the rulers' policies and measures and (2) a widespread apprehension on the part of the people in general that there was a sinister move to destroy their religion and convert them to Christianity — an apprehension which gained ground in the context of the Christian missionary activities, openly supported and aided by many a high English official, and doubtless accentuated among the "native" soldiery by the "greased cartridge" affair. It was alleged that the

newly introduced cartridge for use in the "Enfield" rifle, which was to be bitten and opened at one end before loading into the rifle, was besmeared with pig and cow fats, two very objectionable elements respectively for Muslims and Hindus. Curiously enough, the allegation was found to be not without foundation.¹ Nothing could be a more convincing proof of the design to undo the religion of the subject people. It was in fact the issue of this greased cartridge which triggered off the "mutiny" at Barrackpur.

That the various groups and individuals who in course of time led the revolts could not unite and coordinate their activities is well known. This fact explains their ultimate failure as it also affords a ground for many a writer, particularly from the side of the rulers, to assume that the risings were not "national" or "popular" in character. Advocates of the contrary view which characterizes the revolts as a "national" war of independence are not also few. This difference in approach seems basically to have arisen from an implicit assumption on both sides that "India" (the subcontinent of India, Pakistan and Bangladesh) in 1857 was, or has ever since been, a nation. It is well worth remembering that the British did not capture the subcontinent from a unified people or nation. Nor were the new rulers in any way enthusiastic, at least for the first century of their rule, to weld the various peoples into a "nation". There could therefore be no war of independence by an "Indian nation" as such in 1857. Nonetheless, if one likes to see the wood from the trees one would not miss the fact that despite their divergent interests and attitudes the various groups and leaders sought to emancipate themselves from the foreign domination and that the events of 1857-58 constitute the most widespread and determined armed attempt to put an end to British rule in the subcontinent. In that respect the revolts of 1857-58 may undoubtedly be related to the story of the subcontinent's struggle for independence from foreign rule.

For at least two decades prior to the outbreaks of 1857 the *mujāhids* had been attempting, in their own way, to liberate the land and to establish an independent state and government of their own. With this background it was only natural that they should

¹ See for instance Surendranath Sen, *Eighteen Fifty-Seven*, Calcutta, 1958, pp. 43-48.

be very active during the revolts of 1857. But their main strategy was not to wage war against the British rulers from within the British Indian territories but from an independent frontier principality. Within the British Indian territories their organization was more or less secret or "underground." Hence they did not take any such step which would expose their secret organization. What they appear to have done was that on the frontier, as noted above, 'Inayāt 'Alī attempted to raise the Yusufzais and other tribes in rebellion and, in alliance with the troops of the 55th Native infantry of Hoti Mardan who had "mutinied" and had escaped to Swat, to commence hostilities against the English from that quarter. Within the British Indian territories the *jihād* organizers and workers, in consonance with their traditional attempt to incite the native troops against the British rulers, continued to make the same attempt in various ways immediately prior to as also during the "mutiny"; while individual members or groups belonging to the *jihād* movement or persons imbued with similar ideas took very active parts in the risings and fightings against the British at different places, particularly at Delhi and in Oudh where, by all accounts, the risings did actually become popular or "national" in character.

The part played by the *mujāhids* in the outbreaks of 1857-58 would have been far more conspicuous and effective but for three main reasons. First, Sayyid Akbar Shāh of Swat, on whom 'Ināyat 'Alī and the troops of the 55th Native Infantry depended much for building up the anti-British coalition, died suddenly in the midst of their preparations on the very day (10 May 1857) when the soldiers at Meerut broke out in open rebellion against their British masters. Akbar Shah's death put the whole plans on the north-west frontier out of gear. Secondly, the Commissioner of Patna, W. Tayler, forestalled any move by the *jihād* leaders at that place by promptly arresting all of them including Ahmad Allah, thus paralyzing the movement at its head-centre at the very inception of the outbreaks. This action cut the lines of supply in men and money for 'Ināyat 'Alī and reduced him to sore straits in the midst of which he died. It also left the other subordinate centres and *jihād* leaders in Bengal and north India without any

coordinating leadership, thus leaving each group and leader to do what they considered best under the situation. Thirdly, Sir John Lawrence, the British Commissioner in the Panjab, quickly disarmed the disaffected "native" troops at Lahore, and on his information General Reed, the Commander of the forces at Peshawar, did the same with the troops there, many of whom had been secretly won over to the cause of the *jihād* movement.¹

Nevertheless the part played by the *mujāhids* in the outbreaks of 1857-58 was not inconsiderable. It is on record that the rumour about the greased cartridge originated in the Misriganj mosque of Calcutta (which was founded by Sayyid Aḥmad Shahīd's disciple Badī' al-Zamān of that city and which had ever since been an important rendezvous of the *mujāhids*) and that the Mawlawīs connected with the *jihād* movement in fact spread the rumour among the sepoys at Barrackpur.² Secondly, it is very significant that the scene of Sayyid Aḥmad's activities earlier and the very places through which Wilāyat 'Alī and 'Ināyat 'Alī proceeded to the frontier in the early fifties, such as Allahabad, Fatehgarh, Kanpur, Delhi, Meerut, Saharanpur, Karnal, etc, halting at each place and taking steps to sow the seeds of disaffection among the native troops posted at those stations, were the very places where the revolts attained the most dangerous proportions. The effort of the 'Alī brothers at that time to win over the 4th Regiment Native Infantry at Rawalpindi and the government proceedings leading to the arrest of some *jihād* workers like Maqṣūd 'Alī and the trial of the regimental Munshi have been noted in the previous chapter. At that time a circular letter was found with Maqṣūd 'Alī, written by the 'Alī brothers and addressed to their agents and followers in Bengal, which gives an account of how at each of the above mentioned places hundreds of sepoys and sawars had indicated their support for the liberation movement. "One sentence in this singular letter", rightly observes Reily, "gathers terrible significance when read in the lurid light thrown upon it by the events of that fatal time [1857-58]. 'In Hindoostan and Punjab' — so runs the letter, — 'hundreds of sepoys and sowar clasped our hands,

¹ Sir Colin Campbell, *Narrative of the Indian Revolt*, London, 1858, p. 33.

² *Rajmahal Report*, para 7.

and were warm in our favour and ready to aid us.' Disaffection among the native troops seems to have made sensible progress even in that early time;... Strange it is, no doubt, that most of the places through which these brothers passed, and which are named in the circular, are the places which stand out in bold relief in the history of the mutiny of 1857, — Allahabad, Futteyghur, Cawnpore, Delhi, Meerut, Kurnaul!"¹

Thirdly, it is well known that on the eve of the outbreaks in 1857 a number of '*ulamā*' in northern India openly declared a *jihād* against the British rulers and that in response to that call a large number of "*jihādīs*" from northern India and Tonk came to Delhi and heroically fought hand in hand with the other insurgents against the British. One of the prominent '*ulamā*' and participants in the Delhi fightings categorically records that many of the sincere '*ulamā*' and workers connected with the "previous *jihād* movement" (that is the *jihād* movement initiated by Sayyid Aḥmad Shahīd) swelled the ranks of the "*jihādīs*" at Delhi.² It would thus appear that the *jihād* movement started earlier and the *jihād* declared in 1857 met and merged in northern India and Delhi and that perhaps many of the followers of Sayyid Aḥmad Shahīd who did not otherwise follow the lead of Wilāyat 'Alī and 'Ināyat 'Alī in continuing the *jihād* on the north-west frontier ("the Delhi party") came out in the open and participated in the risings of 1857-58. The above mentioned '*ālim*' and participant at Delhi particularly records how the aims and objects of the "*jihādīs*" came in conflict with the King's advisers who were concerned more with their personal interests than with the common interest of the people and how the secret agents of the enemy, both Muslims and non-Muslims, worked for wedging a cleavage between the *jihādīs* and the other insurgents, thus weakening the struggle and paving the way for the British forces to defeat them and reoccupy the city.

¹ *Ibid.*, para 19.

² Mawlana Fazle Haq Khair'ābādī, *Al-Thawrat al-Hindiya*, (Bengali translation), Islamic Foundation, Dhaka, October 1979, p. 16. The author was deported to the Andamans after the suppression of the revolts. Deprived of any pen or paper, he recorded his experiences with charcoal on a piece of cloth which he managed to smuggle out of the island to his relatives in India and which was subsequently published under the above noted title.

This account agrees admirably well with the official and other contemporary records relating to the events at Delhi, thus pointing to the veracity of the author's statements. It is interesting to note that among the *jihādīs* at Delhi there was a lady, referred to as a *jihādini*, who led a cavalry charge against the British forces and before being taken prisoner succeeded in killing at least two of them. "A Joan of Arc was made prisoner yesterday," wrote a British army officer, "She is said to have shot one of our men, and to have fought desperately. She is a 'Jehadin', a religious fanatic, and sports a green turban, and was probably thought to be inspired."¹

Outside Delhi the *jihādīs* concentrated their attention on Lucknow and Rohilkhand. Among them the most conspicuous part was played by the "Maulavī of Faizabad" whose real name appears to be Ahmad 'Alī or Ahmad Allah Shāh. Neither the place of his origin nor his exact relationship with the followers of Sayyid Ahmad Shahīd is known, but he came to be regarded by the British authorities as the most ardent "Wahabi" leader among the insurgents. As early as the month of February 1857 he came to Faizabad and openly declared a *jihād* against the British, was captured and disarmed and was placed in military custody. He escaped from there when the revolts broke out and fought against the British at Lucknow and Shahjahanpur. At the latter place he was reinforced by the Mughal prince Shāhzāda Fīruz Shāh and Begam Hazrat Mahal and offered a very tough resistance to the British forces. Incidentally, there were a number of *mujāhids* in the company of Shāhzāda Fīruz Shāh as well.² The Mawlawī of Faizabad was ultimately killed by a gunshot while attempting to capture the fort of Powain on the Oudh-Rohilkhand border early in June 1858. His death was an irreparable blow to the cause of the *jihādīs*. Even the British authorities against whom he fought relentlessly recognized in him "a man of great abilities, of undaunted courage, of stern determination and by far the best

¹ H.H. Greathead, *Letters written during the siege of Delhi*, London, 1858, p. 130, quoted in S.N. Sen, *op.cit.*, p. 92, n. 63.

² See *Beng. Judl. Prods.*, December 1869, No. 101. It was revealed in 1869 that Mawlawī Ahmad Allah Khān of Birwa, Dhaka, who was a *jihād* worker, had been a close companion of Shāhzāda Fīruz Shāh during 1857-58. See also below.

soldier among the rebels.”¹ “If a patriot is a man who plots and fights for the independence, wrongfully destroyed, of his country”, writes Malleon, “then most certainly the Moulvi was a true patriot. He had not stained his sword by assassination, he had connived at no murders: he had fought manfully, honourably, and stubbornly in the field against the strangers who had seized his country, and his memory is entitled to the respect of the brave and the true-hearted of all nations.”²

It was largely on account of the part played by such men and the *mujāhids-jihādīs* prior to as well as during the outbreaks of 1857-58 that two ideas generally gained ground among the ruling circles at that time. In the first place, it was asserted by many that the revolts were the result of prior plans and preparations — a proposition which cannot be substantiated except with reference to, and to the extent of, the activities of the *mujāhids-jihādīs*. Secondly, it was widely believed that the revolts were essentially the work of the Muslims and that though a number of non-Muslim elements had taken part in the risings they had done so mainly at the instigation of the former.³ An upshot of such impression on the part of the ruling circles was that the brunt of the severe reprisals and retribution accompanying the restoration of British authority fell upon the Muslims, particularly of northern India.

II. THE REVOLTS AND BENGAL MUSLIMS

As regards Bengal it is well known that it did not stir much in connection with the revolts of 1857-58. Except for the “munity” at Barrackpur, which was quickly suppressed, and the outbreaks of the sepoys at Dhaka and Chittagong in eastern Bengal, of which something would be said presently and which were in any case isolated in nature, there was no rising by the civil population. This was so mainly because, in the first place, there were no recently dispossessed chiefs or rulers in Bengal, unlike the case in

¹ Sir Thomas Seaton, quoted in G.B. Malleon, *History of the Indian Mutiny*, Vol. II., London, 1878, p. 541.

² *Ibid.*, p. 544.

³ See for instance W.H. Carey, *The Mahomedan Rebellion, its premonitory symptoms, the outbreak and suppression, with an Appendix*, Roorkee, 1857.

northern India, nor a strong fortress or cantonment with any considerable concentration of disaffected troops, round whom any rebellious section of the civil population could rally. Secondly, the zamindars and indigo-planters had virtually divided Bengal among themselves into so many feudal tenures holding the ra'yats under more or less effective control. The interests of this class of the people were bound up with those of the government and they necessarily constituted a sort of break-waters between the latter and the vast rural population of the country. The European indigo-planters, in particular, stationed as they were with a good deal of arms and organised fighting elements throughout the Bengal districts, formed a considerable supplement to the rather sparse and isolated district and divisional officers. As will be seen presently, the indigo planters provided the much needed "volunteer corps" to keep the most troublesome Bengal districts relatively calm. The only quarters from where any attempt at rising was likely were the followers of the *jihād* movement in the different districts on the one hand, and the *Farā'idī* population of eastern Bengal, chiefly of Faridpur, Barisal and Dhaka, on the other. But the former were not organized for nor intent upon any rising from within the British territories, and the latter, as already noted, were without any leader because of the arrest and confinement of Dudu Miyañ in the Alipur jail throughout the period of the revolts.

The attitude of the zamindar class was expressed promptly. As soon as the news of the outbreaks at Meerut and Delhi reached Calcutta the British Indian Association of that place, which was an organization of the Hindu zamindars, held a special meeting on 22 May 1857, and passed resolutions condemning the outbreaks and expressing their loyalty and support for the government. These resolutions were forwarded to the government for their information. Also translations were made of the proceedings of the meeting and of the resolutions "into the vernacular dialects" and these were printed and distributed among the population.¹ Similar

¹ Appendix (A) to Further Papers (No. 5) Relative to the Mutinies in the East Indies: (Inclosures in No. 1), Parl. Papers, 1857 (S.O.A.S. India Papers, Acc. No. 5019), Inclosures 733-737.

resolutions and expressions of loyalty by individual zamindars or groups of zamindars from other places were also forwarded to the government.¹

Following the example of the British Indian Association the Muslim zamindars and descendants of princely families residing in Calcutta, whose interests did not differ much from those of the Hindu zamindars, and also a number of other Muslims who could see for various reasons that the revolts were not likely to succeed, took steps to publicly avow their loyalty to the government. Thus the "Mahomedan Association" of Calcutta (Anjuman-i-Islam), which had come into existence in 1855, held a special meeting on 27 May 1857, under the chairmanship of Moulvi Fuzloor Rahman (Mawlawī Fadl al-Rahmān), Qādī al-Qudāt of the Šadr Court in Calcutta, and passed resolutions expressing their loyalty to the government.² The members of the Association made specific reference to the prevailing notion about the religious ground of the outbreaks and assured themselves as much as other Muslims saying: "We subjects are well aware that the members of the British Government, from the commencement of their dominion in Hindostan, have repeatedly declared and made known their determination not to interfere with the religion or religious observances of any of their subjects, and we repose entire faith in this declaration, and assert that, up to the present time, a space of nearly 100 years, our religion has never been interfered with." It was also resolved to print a sufficient number of copies of the proceedings of the meeting and to distribute them among the Muslims as also to send copies to the members of the Association resident in "Mofussil stations" and "to the Branch Associations, as well as to the Mahomedan Association at Agra." Of the 47 persons³ who affixed their signatures to the resolutions that were

¹ See *Mutinies and the People by a Hindu*, Calcutta, 1859.

² *Appendix (A) to Further Papers etc. op.cit.*, Inclosures 741-746. Full proceedings together with the names of the persons who signed the resolutions are in *Mutinies in the East Indies (Supplement to the Papers presented July 1857)*, Inclosures 15-16 and also in *Board's Collection*, Vol. 2683, 1856-57, Coll. No. 184.804 (Draft No. 187 of 1857).

³ The signatories were: Moulvi Fuzloor Rahman, (Kazy ul Kuzzat, Kazi Sudder, Calcutta), Moulvi Mahomed Wujeeh (Head Moulvi, Calcutta Madrissa), Moulvi Abdool Baree (Kazee, Calcutta), Moulvi Abdool Lateef (Deputy Magistrate), Moonshree Ameer Allee (Pleader of the Sudder Court, Calcutta), Mirza Mahomed Mehdee Meshkee, Hadjee Aga Mirza Sheerazee, Hadjee =

forwarded to the government nine described themselves as "Zemindars". Of the rest some were government employees of various grades, some were pleaders and teachers of the Calcutta Madrasa and other educational institutions, while the others did not write any designation, but were obviously merchants and descendants of princely families.

Only four days after the meeting of the Mahomedan Association of Calcutta Khwāja 'Abd al-Ghanī of Dhaka, a premier zamindar in that and the neighbouring districts, addressed a letter to the Government of India (on 1 June 1857)¹ saying that besides vast landed property he had "large sums of money" in his house "which would be endangered by any sudden outbreak in the city." He stated that though the temper of the people was "well disposed" and though the number of sepoys stationed in the city was "too small to be dangerous", yet the "defence" of the place might be exposed by a sudden outbreak of what he called "the ill-disposed among the populace." He therefore suggested that "at least 100 European soldiers" should be stationed at Dhaka and that "the ammunition and the two guns at present in the Lall Bagh under charge and in the power of the sepoys, should be brought into the town, together with the Artillery men belonging to the guns." He added that he had addressed the Government of India directly, and not through the Divisional Commissioner (C.T. Davidson) because of his absence from the station at the moment. "Should the Governor-General-in-Council be pleased to grant the requests", concluded 'Abd al-Ghanī, "I believe that there

= Baba Kazoranee, Mirza Golaum Hossain Kazoranee, Hadjee Mahomed Hashim Ishphahanee, Aga Syed Hossain, Aga Syed Sadeq, Aga Koochuck Sheerazee, Mahomed Hossein Chulnee, Hadjee Mahomed Jafer Isfahanee, Aga Syed Ahmed Behbaanee, Aga Mahomed Ali Kooza Keenanee, Aga Mahomed Hassun Kooza Kenanee, Mirza Abdool Kareem Sheerazee, Nawab Feda Hosein Khan, Moonshee Nukee Alle Khan, Syed Enayth Hossein, Syed Tajummool Ali (Zemindar), Syed Abdool Majeed (Deputy Magistrate), Moulvi Moosa Ali (2nd Master, Colingah Branch School), Moulvi Deen Mahomed (Resident Master, Calcutta Madrisa), Syed Mouzzum Hossein (Moonsiff), Syed Waris Ali (Head Master, Hooghly College), Syed Abdullah, Nawab Syed Jaffir Cooli Khan, Aga Syed Hasheen Babahanee, Syed Abdoolah Isfahane, Aga Mahomed Ali Sheerazee, Hadjee Mirza Hussein Khorasaanee, Moulvi Aftabooddeen Mahomed (Pleaser of the Sudder Court, Calcutta), Moulvi Mahomed Ismaeel (Pleaser of the Sudder Court, Calcutta), Moonshee Mukbool Ali (Zemindar), Moonshee Hossain Buksh (Mooktar of the Sudder Court, Calcutta), Moonshee Mukdoom Buksh (Zemindar and Mooktar, Sudder Court), Syed Asghur Ali (Zemindar), Moonshee Azheer Hossein (Zemindar and Mooktar of the Sudder Court), Moulvi Ahmud (Law Officer of the Court of Burdwan), Moonshee Ruhmut Ali (Zemindar), Moulvi Abdool Hameed (Zemindar), Cazim Ali (Zemindar), Akber Alee (Zemindar), Aftabooddeen Ahmud.

¹ Appendix (A) to Further Papers, *op.cit.*, p. 189, Inclosure 434.

could be no fear of any outbreak in this or in any of the neighbouring districts."

'Abd al-Ghanī's letter to the government was clearly elicited by his personal interests; yet, as it fell in line with the government's policy, the latter readily acceded to the request and ordered, on 11 June, a party of 100 seamen from the Company's frigates the "Punjaub" and the "Zenobia" to proceed to Dhaka under the command of Lieutenant Lewis of the Indian Navy, together with the usual proportion of officers and warrant officers.⁴ This force arrived at Dhaka on 18 June 1857.² Meanwhile the Commissioner also constituted a body of volunteers consisting of the Europeans (indigo planters) and Armenian Christians resident in the city.³

The address of the British Indian Association and other Hindu zamindars appears to have been taken by the government as an expression of opinion of the Bengal Hindu population generally; but though the Calcutta Mahomedan Association and Khwajā 'Abd al-Ghanī had presented similar addresses of loyalty, the government continued to remain under a constant sense of apprehension about the Muslim population. Particular anxiety was felt about the district of Murshidabad where, as the Lieutenant-Governor observed, there was "a large Mahomedan population, together with whatever prestige attached to the residence there of the descendant of the old rulers of Bengal."⁴ The nominal "Nawwāb", however, was too helpless and too dependant upon government pension to think of leading any revolt and he remained perfectly loyal. Nevertheless, on 23 June 1857 some seditious placards appeared in the city of Murshidabad together with a rumour that the 63rd Native Infantry and the 11th Irregular Cavalry stationed in the district had risen in rebellion. The rumour proved baseless. Nonetheless, the government promptly despatched to Barhampur, the cantonment in Murshidabad district, some detachments of H.M.'s 84th and 25th

¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 189-90, Inclosures 435-437.

² *Ibid.*, p. 195, Inclosure 488.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 194, Inclosure 446.

⁴ F.J. Halliday (Lieutenant-Governor), *The Mutinies as they affected the Lower Provinces under the Government of Bengal*, Calcutta, 1858, p. 64.

Regiments. With their help the 63rd Native Infantry and the 11th Irregular Cavalry were disarmed. As the disarmed soldiers were reported to be enquiring about arms in the city of Murshidabad, the city too was disarmed. In the first few days of August "a considerable number of wall and field pieces and 2,000 small arms" were seized from the city.¹

Besides Murshidabad the government's attention was specially directed to the Muslim populations of Rangpur, Rajshahi, Pabna, Jessore, 24-Parganas, Faridpur, Barisal and Dhaka. In July a plot was discovered which aimed at killing the officers of the 73rd Regiment posted at Jalpaiguri, then within the jurisdiction of Rangpur district. In consequence some sepoys were tried by Court Martial and variously punished and "eighteen Mahomedan troopers of the Irregulars were disarmed and sent to Berhampore."² To prevent further possible outbreaks a force of European Volunteer Cavalry, consisting of indigo planters and civil officers, was organized and posted at Rampur Boalia (Rajshahi). The initiative in organizing this force was taken by the Manager of Messrs. Watson and Co.'s indigo factories in those parts.

In Jessore a similar plot was discovered in July amongst the men of the "Nujeeb Guard" there in which the Jamadar and two sepoys were principally concerned. The Jamadar was hung and the sepoys were sentenced to transportation for life. They committed suicide by hanging themselves in the cell before the order of transportation could be carried out.³ At the end of July a Police Jamadar at Jhikargacha (Jessore) named Muhammad Ali, circulated an ambiguous proclamation to the effect that the day of judgement was at hand. Following this incident a number of sympathizers with the ousted king of Oudh were found in Barasat (24-Paragans district) and were arrested.⁴ In view of these developments "one hundred stand of arms" were sent by the government for distribution among the indigo planters of

¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 65-66.

² *Ibid.*, 61.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 65.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 66.

Jessore.¹ But by far the greatest concern was felt about the Muslim population of the Dhaka division. According to the Lieutenant-Governor "there appeared to be much more serious elements of disturbance" in that division — "the district of Furreedpore, the headquarters of the fanatic Ferazees — Backergunge with its notoriously turbulent and insolent population —... and beyond all, the city of Dacca, with its large Mussulman population, which by the local authorities was believed to be at least not well affected to Government..."²

That the local authorities had considerable misgivings about the Muslim population of Dhaka is illustrated by the incident of the visit at that time of Mawlānā Karāmat 'Alī's brother Rajab 'Alī. He came to Dhaka towards the end of June or early in July 1857. There were a number of followers and admirers of Karamat Ali in the city of Dhaka. Rajab 'Alī's arrival must have drawn the attention of these admirers who naturally visited him and assembled round him in the local mosques. Such assemblage of Muslims roused the suspicion of the "local authorities". Writing to the Bengal government on 8 July 1857, the Officiating Joint-Magistrate of Dhaka (C.F. Carnac) stated: "I have reason to suspect a certain up-country Moolvie, residing here, of being in correspondence with one Keramat Ali, of Jaunpore, who has numerous followers in this town, and who is said to have written to the Moolvie to urge these said followers to rise up in defence of their faith, and to assist him in driving the Feringhees from the country; he is further stated to have written that he has a force (somewhere near Allahabad) of 4,000 men, and that others were continually flocking in to join his standard."³ The magistrate therefore requested government to ascertain if Karamat 'Alī had "joined the rebels. He is well known, I doubt not, to Government, since he has as much influence, and as many followers, in these districts as Doodoo Meah." Supporting this suspicion of the magistrate's but independently of his information the Commissioner of the Division wrote a similar communication to the

¹ *Ibid.*,

² *Ibid.*, pp. 71-72.

³ *Appendix (A) to Further Papers, etc. op.cit.*, p. 203, Inclosure 468.

government on 11 July saying: "It is no doubt known to His Honor that, like the Ferazee sect, who recognizes Doodoo Meah as their leader, there is another numerous sect who own one Keramat Ali as their chief. This Keramat Ali is an inhabitant of Zillah Jaunpore, in the North-Western Provinces... We have a Moulvie in one of the large mosques in the city who, I have heard, corresponds with Keramat Ali, and I have also heard sufficient about this man to lead me to suspect that he is a disaffected, mischievous person."¹ Like the magistrate the Commissioner also sought further information about Karāmat 'Alī from the government. The latter made the necessary enquiries with the Commissioner of Benaras and then informed the Dhaka Commissioner, on 23 July, that "No flag of Islam" had been raised in Jaunpur and that Karāmat 'Alī had rather "saved the Misses Matthews from the mob, and placed them in safety in the fort."² The episode shows not only how grossly misinformed the local officials were but also how deeply suspicious they were about the Muslim population.

Some grounds for concern was of course there in so far as the antecedents and attitudes of the *Farā'idī* population was concerned; but the arrest and confinement of their leader had practically neutralized them. Shortly after the outbreak of the revolts the Officiating Joint-Magistrate of Faridpur, J.H. Ravenshaw, furnished the government with an account of the feelings of the population of the district and wrote that the Muslim population were numerically predominant there and that "the Ferazees would, I have no doubt, be the first to join in any mutiny that they might be called on to partake in", but that their union was "now much dissevered" because of the imprisonment of their leader. "There is also a strong feeling of bitterness between them and the Hindoos", wrote the magistrate, "and I do not think they would be likely to join one another in an insurrection."³ On the other hand, the enemies of the *Farā'idīs* took the occasion of the

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 204, Inclosure 470.

² *Ibid.*, Inclosure 471.

³ Offg. Jt. Magistrate of Faridpur to Secy. to govt. of Bengal, 13 June 1857, *ibid.*, p. 205, Inclosure 473.

outbreaks to instigate the government against them. As early as 26 June (1857) an anonymous petition was forwarded to the Officiating Joint-Magistrate stating that "the Ferazees in a body were rising, and had written to the sepoys for support." The allegation was utterly baseless. The magistrate succeeded in apprehending the person who "passed the petition through the hand of another man." The arrested man, though pressed hard, refused to give any information about the originator of the petition and preserved all through a dogged silence. He was punished for "misdemeanor".¹

Another anonymous and anti-*Farā'idī* petition was forwarded directly to the "Governor-General-in-Council of India." It stated that Dudu Miyān, though then in prison, had written to his son-in-law, who was named as "Ancoferdi Molla" and who was stated to have been living "in the Bathpure, Zillah Howrah, as a Zemindar", informing him that Dudu Miyān would go to Delhi to join the sepoys there "to war against the government." The petitioner warned the government that "some Mahomedan subjects of Bathpore and Ankoony, being not patient, are again resolving to go to Delhi; therefore I am petitioner to Government that you will not fail to check these Mussulmans, whose names follow:-"² We do not know from any other source whether Dudu Miyān had a son-in-law by the name of Ancoferdi Molla or whether there were any *Farā'idī* sympathizers in Howrah, a district west of Calcutta. No action appears to have been taken on the petition. Obviously it was written by a person who was not a Muslim and who had his personal grudge against the persons named in the petition. Be that as it may, the government continued to be cautious about the *Farā'idīs*. In August (1857) when there was some talk about the release of Dudu Miyān the Joint-Magistrate of Faridpur gave his unequivocal opinion against it saying: "I am convinced that as long as Doodoo Meah is kept

¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 206-207, Inclosures 476-479.

² *Ibid.*, 202, Inclosure 466. The names mentioned are: "Zemindars.- Mahomed Amul, Mahomed Anchif, Tofell Aaihomed, Nader Joma, Syedl Hawk, Oah Chet [Wajed?] Audder, Reah Jurdee [Riyad al-Din?], Golah Mullick, Abed Hossein, Tarachand Mallie, Shaik Moosdeen [Muizz al-Din?], Fozdar Mallick, in the city of Chookzara, Jessore Moddee [Jasim al-Din?]. Sudporee: Kajee Monbook, and his father's name Rajaoolla; Khajee Khala Nooanj, Kajee Abdool Rohoman; Rathpore, and his father's name Golambia; Forzul Ahomud, Mojee Mohamud, ditto."

from all communication with them there is little to fear from the Ferazees. His release again would, I have no doubt, be the signal for the renewal for his depredations, if not be attended with more serious results to the peace of the country."¹

As is well known, neither the *Farā'idīs* nor any other section of the Bengal civil population, Muslim or Hindu, rose in revolt during 1857-58. The government's apprehensions about troubles in the eastern districts, however, did ultimately come true in some respects. These came from the sepoys posted at Dhaka and Chittagong. At that time 2 companies of the 73rd Regiment were stationed at Dhaka, while 3 companies from the 34th Native Infantry were posted at Chittagong. It was the remaining companies of this latter regiment who had been disarmed at Barrackpur early in 1857. In October some uneasy feeling prevailed among the sepoys at Dhaka due to a rumour about their intended disarming. Similar feelings were also rising among the Chittagong sepoys who actually broke out into open revolt on 18 October. They could not however carry the civil population with them and escaped through Hill Tippera to Sylhet intending to go to Manipur in Assam. They were however pursued by a contingent of British troops who, aided by the Sylhet Light Infantry, defeated and killed most of them in a series of engagements in southern Sylhet and Cachar. Of the three companies which left Chittagong not more than three or four were believed to have escaped death or capture.²

The news of the outbreak at Chittagong reached Dhaka on 21 October (1857). The authorities immediately decided to disarm the sepoys there. For that purpose early in the morning of 22 October the European seamen under Lieutenant Lewis and the European Volunteers proceeded to Lalbagh where the sepoys were entrenched in the fort. The latter offered a tough resistance and a pitched battle ensued which continued for half an hour. The sepoys were overpowered and driven out of their barracks. They left 41 dead on the ground whilst three were drowned in

¹ Appendix (B) to Further Papers (No. 5) Relative to the Mutinies in the East Indies. Inclosures in No. 2,3 and 4, Parl. Paper, 1858, pp. 381-382, Inclosure 157 in No. 3.

² F.J. Halliday, *op.cit.*, 74-75, 77-80.

attempting to cross the river, and a large number were more or less severely wounded. On the government side 15 were severely wounded of whom three died, and three, including Lieutenant Lewis, received slight wounds. Of the sepoy taken prisoners some managed to escape, 10 were hung to death (at the Bahadur Shah Park, then called Victoria Park) and 10 were sentenced to transportation. The main body of the sepoy made their retreat through Jamalpur and Mymensingh, crossed the river Brahmaputra and entered the Rangpur district on 30 November. At that time great anxiety was felt for the district of Pabna. It was thought that the Dhaka sepoy might cross to Sirajganj *enroute* to the North-West. The magistrate of the district sent hasty summons to the indigo planters and other Europeans who promptly organized "a well-mounted and equipped body of horsemen" and took their position at Sirajganj. The Dhaka sepoy did not however proceed towards that direction. Meanwhile a contingent from the 73rd Regiment and one "Risallah" of the 11th Irregular cavalry, who had been sent from Jalpaiguri to intercept the Dhaka sepoy, also revolted on 5 December and escaped into Purnia. The British forces proceeding from Darjeeling and Dhaka could not make much head-way against the Dhaka sepoy who had entered the Bhutan frontier about 8 December. They ultimately crossed the Tista on 26 December and effected their escape into the Nepal Terai.¹ Thus ended the revolts of the sepoy of Dhaka and Chittagong. There was no further outbreak at any other place in Bengal during 1857-58 though there were occasional rumours and exaggerated panics here and there.

¹ *Ibid.*, 61-62, 75.

CHAPTER XVII

THE *JIHĀD* MOVEMENT IN THE SIXTIES: INVESTIGATIONS AND TRIALS

I. EFFECTS OF THE EVENTS OF 1857-58

The reverses of 1857-58, particularly the destruction of Sittana by the British forces in the latter year, naturally dispirited many, but they did not completely put an end to the spirit of the *jihād*. On the contrary they served to push the movement further eastward so that in the post-1858 phase it was almost exclusively confined to the Bengal Presidency. For, the restoration of the British authority in northern India was so complete after 1858 and the retribution upon the Muslims there was so severe that for sometime at least their participation in a renewed *jihād* could not reasonably be counted upon by any one. In fact in that area Sir Syed Ahmad Khān had now come forward to decry the spirit of resistance and to foster, in all possible ways, good relations between the British authorities and their Muslim subjects. In the Panjab, on the other hand, the Muslims had suffered so bitterly at the hands of the Sikhs that the establishment of British rule over that area appeared to the former as a sort of deliverance. Naturally the Muslims of the region did not feel much enthusiastic about the movement which was now directed against the English. In other parts of the subcontinent like Sind, Bombay and Hyderabad (Deccan) the movement had not prospered even before 1857. The Bengal Presidency was thus the only field left where the movement could now look for support in both men and money.

As before, the city of Patna continued however to be the link between Bengal and the frontier camp which was now at Mulka, on the spurs of the Mahaban Mountains. At Patna, after the departure of Mawlawīs Wilāyat 'Alī and 'Ināyat 'Alī for the frontier early in the fifties, the leadership had devolved on Yahyā 'Alī. He was assisted by his two brothers, Ahmad Allah and Faiyāz 'Alī and also by others like Mawlawī 'Abd al-Gaffār, Ilāhī Bakhsh, Mubarak 'Alī, Tobārak 'Alī and Hashmdad Khān. Yahyā 'Alī, like his predecessors, was a skilful leader who supervised the recruitment of volunteers and the collection of money from the

eastern districts, the training and probation of the volunteers at Patna and the transmission of these men and money, and also the secret correspondence to the frontier. Besides Patna, Dinapur and Muzaffarpur in north Bihar continued to be subordinate centres for the movement.

The conflicts of 1858 illustrated the advantages and limitations of both the *mujāhids* and the British Indian authorities. The *mujāhids* were no match for the well-trained and well-equipped forces of the British Indian government; but the mountain fastnesses of the area offered the former an advantageous retreating hinterland wherein they could not be pursued without exciting the alarm of the neighbouring and neutral tribes. In fact, in the campaign of 1858 both Sir Sydney Cotton and Colonel Edwardes withdrew after destroying the Sittana settlement because they thought that "further pursuit of the Enemy into the hills" would raise against the British Indian government the Jadun "and other independent hill tribes who had naturally become excited by the presence of so large a British force in and amongst their mountains."¹ An understanding with such tribes was therefore thought to be the best course for securing peace in the area so that Cotton ended the campaign by making over Sittana to the Uthmanzai tribe and the Magal Thana area to the Jadun tribe, both of whom undertook never to allow the *mujāhids* to re-enter their territory and also to declare war on any third tribe which should endeavour to bring them in. These two tribes also bound themselves to prevent the *mujāhids* from passing through their territories.² So far as the latter were concerned, the experiences of 1858 demonstrated the vulnerability of tribal coalitions and convinced the *jihād* leaders that the only sure source of strength lay in securing as many volunteers as possible from within the British Indian territories. This, for reasons already stated, resulted only in an intensified recruitment drive in Bengal.

As an impact of this recruitment drive a two-fold doctrinal

¹ Cotton to Dy. Adjutant General of the Army, 6 May 1858, *Calcutta Gazette*, 16 June 1858, para 26.

² Edwardes to Chief Commissioner of the Panjab, 14 May 1858, *Parl. Pap.*, H/C, 1864, Vol. XLIII, Paper 158 (Papers relating to the late disturbances in the north-west frontier of India), pp. 189-194, paras 27-36.

developments are noticeable in Bengal in the early sixties. Hitherto the Patna leaders had been basing their call for the *jihād* mainly on the theory of the disappearance of Sayid Ahmad Shahīd from the battle field of Balakot and the prospects of his reappearance as the *Imām* at the right moment. His continued absence, the disillusionment of Zain al-‘Ābedīn and some others who had made a search for the *Imām* a few years earlier in the locality where he was said to have withdrawn himself,¹ and the reverses of 1858 rendered it extremely difficult to sustain the theory of disappearance. An adherence to the theory, besides creating misgivings in the minds of many, was also likely to retard the recruitment of volunteers, for the *Farā’idī* population of Lower Bengal, to whom the call for the *jihād* was now more specifically directed, were generally averse to the idea of *Imāms* or *Pīrs*. The *jihād* leaders in Bengal, particularly those in the eastern districts, thought it proper to acknowledge the fact of Sayyid Ahmad’s death and to base the duty of *jihād* on a more extended concept of *dār-al-ḥarb*. They began to tell their fellow Muslims that it was a sin to live in a country where the ruler was an “unbeliever” and the laws of Islam were not in “full force”; but as they could not wage a *jihād* from within the country their alternative duty was to perform a *hijrat* or migration to a country where the Muslims were independent and therefrom to attempt to reestablish their authority in their original country. This theme was specifically developed in a tract entitled *Tatwa (Fatwa?)* written in Bengali verse by Mawlawī Mirza Jān Rahmān and Hājī Badr al-Dīn of Dhaka.² The book narrated the story of Sayyid Ahmad’s struggle upto his death along with Shāh Ismā‘īl in a holy war in the north-west, explained the nature of the *dār-al-ḥarb* and emphasized the necessity for *hijrat* in the following terms:

“Whoever prohibits *hijrat* and *jihad* is an enemy of God. In those countries in which the unbeliever (*Kāfir*) is powerful, there the law of Mahomed cannot have full force. Hence God has ordered that all Musalmans must unite and fight against the unbeliever (*Kāfir*). Those who cannot answer to the call to join in holy war (*jihad*) should leave

¹ See *supra*, pp. 544-545.

² The tract was printed at Dhaka in 1268 B.E. It is not available. Information about the tract and translations of its relevant parts are contained in *Beng. Judl. Prods.*, Nov. 1868, No. 170.

their country and go to some country where Mahomedans are rulers. All the learned men have decided that the faithful should leave this country. Whoever returns from the country of Islam after having left his country, leaves his faith behind him, and if he does not leave this country again his prayers are vain and should he die here he is a heretic."¹

The abandonment of the theory of Sayyid Ahmad's disappearance and the inculcation of the necessity for *hijrat* on the basis of the *dār-al-ḥarb* concept were thus the two specific doctrinal outcomes, so far at least as Bengal was concerned, of the intensive recruitment drive necessitated by the failure of the campaigns of 1858.

Simultaneously with this doctrinal development an attempt had also been made to rouse the Muslim troops in southern India to a revolt against the government. The initiative in this task was taken by Mawlawī Ahmad Allah Khān, an inhabitant of Birwa in the Dhaka district.² He had been a close companion of the Mughal prince Shāhzāda Fīrūz Shāh who had played a prominent part in the revolts of 1857-58.³ After the suppression of the revolts Ahmad Allah was arrested at Lahore, but was pardoned under the government proclamation.⁴ Early in the sixties he went to the south and travelled from place to place where the Madras regiments were stationed, preaching among the Muslim troops the duty of waging a *jihād* against the British.⁵ In this work he was assisted by one Mawlawi Ismā'īl Khān, formerly of the 37th Native Infantry.⁶ Ahmad Allah's task seems to have been facilitated by the fact that many of the troops with *jihād* sympathies, or "Wahabis", as they were called, belonging to the regiments that were disbanded after the revolts got themselves recruited in different south Indian regiments. Thus the "Wahabis" in the 3rd Regiment Light Cavalry came altogether from the disbanded 5th Regiment Light Cavalry. Similar those in the 12th

¹ *Ibid.* The translation is that of J.O'Kinealy, Officiating Magistrate of Malda.

² From Major F.G. Steuart, District Supdt. of Police, Raipur, Central Provinces, to Inspector General of Police, Bengal, 28 Sept. 1869, *Beng. Judl. Prods.*, December, 1869, No. 101.

³ *Ibid.* For Firuz Shah's role see for instance, S.N. Sen, *Eighteen Fifty-seven*, Calcutta, 1958, pp. 283-284, 310-11, 314-15, 354-55, 361, 373-380.

⁴ *Beng. Judl. Prods.*, June 1869, No. 121.

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ Collector of Godavari to Secy. Board of Revenue, Madras, 12 April 1866, in M.A. Khan, *Selections from the Records of the Government of Bengal*, etc., Dacca, 1961, No. 46.

and 36th Native Infantry came respectively from the disbanded 49th and 50th Native Infantry.¹ Ahmad Allah made contact with these men and soon obtained a following in almost all the regiments in the Central Province and Madras who began to venerate him as their spiritual guide.² He and his agents went about "amongst the men of the regiment in the character of priests, giving them very objectionable advice, tampering with their fidelity, and teaching them to be discontented with the British rule."³ In spite of his best efforts, however, Ahmad Allah Khān could not bring about a revolt of the south Indian troops.

II. THE ENCOUNTERS AT AMBELA PASS AND MULKA, 1863: THE TRIALS OF 1864-65

Meanwhile recruits and money from the Bengal Presidency continued to flow to the frontier. There the *mujāhids* had now settled themselves at Mulka on the upper spurs of the Mahaban Mountain. After the reverses of 1858 their number had been reduced to less than 200, but soon it increased considerably as a result of fresh arrivals from the east.⁴ By 1862 their number rose to about 3000 of whom two-thirds were stated to be from Bengal proper.⁵ During that year all the leaders in Bengal and Bihar including most of those at Patna also arrived at the frontier, one by one, with various batches of recruits.⁶ As a result the *mujāhid* settlement grew so strong that the Panjab government, having come to know about such a large concentration of men at the colony and their endeavours to make a tribal coalition, thought that another frontier war was imminent.⁷ Their forebodings came

¹ From the Officer-Commanding, Nagpur force, to the Military Secretary to the Commander-in-Chief, dated Kamptee, 10 Oct. 1865, Khan, *op.cit.*, No. 33. It should be noted that these men repudiated the designation "Wahabi" applied to them and that this fact was known to the army officials.

² Dist. Supdt. of Police, Raipur to Inspector General of Police, Bengal, 28 Sept. 1869, *Beng. Judl. Prods.*, A for Dec. 1869, No. 100, Khan, *op.cit.*, No. 78.

³ Memorandum of Shurf-ool-Oomrah Bahadur, member, Madras Leg. Council, 11 Aug. 1865, *ibid.*, No. 30.

⁴ In his letter of 14 May 1858 Lt.-Col. Edwardes stated that the number of *mujāhids* who had escaped into the hills after the destruction of Sittana was about 120 (*Parl. Pap.*, 1864, *op.cit.*, p. 193, para 29). 'Abd Allah (Kawaidi), the *jihād* agent at Peshawar, stated after his arrest in 1869 that the number was reduced to 200 or 250 after the hostilities of 1858 (*Beng. Judl. Prods.*, Nov. 1869, No. 278).

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ Crown V. Mahomed Shafi and others, *Beng. Judl. Prods.*, August, 1865, No. 12, para 104.

⁷ *Parl. Paper*, 1864, *op.cit.*, p. 5.

true in July 1863 when the *mujāhids* advanced from Mulka and reoccupied Sittana from where they had been expelled in 1858. They also declared a war against the British and called upon the tribes to join the *jihād*.¹ This is very significant; for on no previous occasion had they made such a direct and formal declaration of *jihād* against the British Indian government. They especially asked the chief of Amb, Jahāndād Khān, to leave the British tutelage which he had accepted in 1858 and to cooperate with them. As he did not respond to the call they made a surprise night attack upon the Guide Corps at Topi on 7 September and, a little later, they launched an attack upon the Amb territory.² A number of tribes including the Jadun and the Uthmanzais who had made peace with the British in 1858 now sided with the *mujāhids*.³

In the face of these developments the British India government sanctioned an expedition against the *Mujāhids* on 24 September and on 18 October an army of 5,630 men under General Neville Chamberlain, with a train of artillery and 4000 beasts of burden proceeded to the frontier.⁴ Misjudging the sentiments of the frontier tribes General Chamberlain moved his army into the Ambela Pass which led to Chumla valley and on to Mulka. This advance of the British troops within the tribal territories roused the worst fears of the surrounding tribes who now hastened to form a grand coalition with the *mujāhids* and launched attacks on the British Indian army from all sides. For several weeks the latter remained practically beleaguered in the dangerous defile under constant showers of bullets from the tribes and the *mujāhids*. The situation for Chamberlain was very precarious. On no former occasion, it was observed, had "the fighting in the hills been so severe or sustained a character." There were heavy casualties on the British side,⁵ General Chamberlain

¹ Letter of 'Abd Allah (son of Wilāyat 'Alī), the leader of the *mujāhids*, addressed to the tribes, *ibid.*, p. 168.

² Panjab Govt. to Ind. Govt., 1 Feb. 1864, No. 51, *Parl. Paper*, 1864, *op. cit.*, pp. 125-142, paras 7-14.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ *Ibid.*, paras 43-46.

⁵ 227 persons including 49 European officers and men were killed and 620 persons including 139 European officers and men were wounded in the Ambela pass. See *The Gazette of India Extraordinary*, 30 January 1864, pp. 48-49.

himself having been wounded. The situation was at last improved by diplomacy and negotiations conducted chiefly by the Commissioner of Peshawar, Major James. By the end of November he succeeded in drawing off certain clans from the coalition. By the middle of the following month (December) the Bonair tribes deserted the *mujāhids* and entered into an agreement with the British Indian authorities to destroy the Mulka settlement. Meanwhile a reinforcement having arrived a strong British brigade, guided by the Bonairs, advanced upon Mulka. The *mujāhids* offered a heroic resistance, but being deserted by the tribes and unable to resist the superior forces of the British, now reinforced by the Bonairs, retired into the hills leaving the settlement to its fate. The British forces reduced the settlement to ashes and returned to the plains on 25 December 1863.¹ Subsequently fresh engagements were taken from the Jaduns and the Uthmanzais and also from such other tribes as the Mudda Kheyl, the Amazais and the Hasanzais who undertook not to entertain the *mujāhids* in any way.²

As in 1858 this time also the British Indian authorities would have remained satisfied with the military and diplomatic settlement of the matter which they still continued to regard as a frontier problem. That investigations and trials soon followed was due mainly to the vigilance and action of a Panjabi mounted police, Ghazan Khan by name, who, shortly before the outbreak of hostilities in 1863, had detected and arrested four "Bengali emissaries" who were proceeding to the frontier. Ghazan Khan subjected these men to severe interrogation and then followed up the clue extorted from them upto Peshawar. The information and proofs supplied by him led to the institution of enquiries by the British Indian authorities which embraced the "entire breadth of Northern Indian from the banks of the Indus to the other side of the Brahmaputra." These investigations resulted in two State trials, the first at Ambala (the Panjab) in 1864 and the second at Patna in 1865. In the Ambala trial 11 persons, namely, Muhammad Shafi, a meat contractor to the military cantonments, and his

¹ Panjab Govt. to India Govt., 1 February 1864, *op.cit.*, paras 90-107.

² *Ibid.*, paras 108-111.

servants Husaini and 'Abd al-Karīm of that place, Muḥammad Ja'far and his asistant 'Abd al-Ghafūr, of Thaneswar, Muḥammad Yahyā Ālī, Mawlawī 'Abd al-Ghaffār, 'Abd al-Rahīm, Ilāhī Bakhsh and Muḥammad Husainī, of Patna, and Qāzī (Qadī) Miyān Jān of Kumarkhali, Pabna (Bengal) were convicted of the offence of "attempting to wage war against the Queen, and abetting the waging of such war."¹ They were sentenced to transportation to the Andamans for life. Qāzī Miyān Jān was very old at the time of his trial and died in the Ambala prison before the sentence of transportation could be carried out. Muḥammad Shafi and 'Abd al-Karīm turned approvers and were therefore released after detention for sometime. Also Ilāhī Bakhsh turned Crown witness for the Patna trial and was therefore pardoned and rewarded.² The rest of the prisoners were transported.³ In the Patna trial Mawlawī Ahmad Allah, brother and right-hand man of Yahyā 'Alī, was similarly convicted of the offence of abetting the waging of war against the Queen and this finding was confirmed by the Calcutta High Court. He was also transported for life.⁴ The properties of the convicted persons were also confiscated.

The Ambala and Patna trials revealed a mass of evidence which showed that Bengal was the breeding and recruiting ground of the movement which was directed from Patna. The depositions of 79 witnesses in the two trials as also a vast amount of documentary evidence indicated throughout that the flow of men and money for the *jihād* was from the east and that these were systematically forwarded from Patna. The major portion of the "treasonable" correspondence was also recovered from the house of Qāzī Miyān Jān of Pabna (Bengal) who had also three or four aliases "by all of which names" he was known.⁵ The Judicial

¹ *Crown V. Muhammad Shafi and others, op.cit.*

² See *Beng. Judl. Prods.*, October, Nos. 272-273.

³ Yahyā 'Alī died in the Andamans in 1868 and his brother Ahmad Allah died there in 1881. He lies buried at Dundas Point on the Viper Island. Muḥammad Ja'far and 'Abd al-Rahīm were reprieved and returned to India in 1883. Both of them subsequently wrote accounts of the movement. The latter, 'Abd al-Rahīm, lived long and died in 1923 at the age of 92.

⁴ *State V. Ahmadullah, Beng. Judl. Prods.*, May 1865, Nos. 52-78. See also *Selection of Records of the Bengal Government*, No. 42 (Papers Relating to the trial of Maulavi Ahmadullah).

⁵ *Crown V. Shafi and others, op.cit.*, paras 66, 103 and 115.

Commissioner of Ambala repeatedly referred in the course of his judgement to the reception at Patna, Thaneswar and Ambala of the "Bengalees", "the Bengalee recruits" and "the Bengalee Crescentaders."¹ He also specifically pointed out that though the role of Muḥammad Ja'far of Thaneswar and Muḥammad Shafi of Ambala in the transmission of men and money was great, they received them from Patna and were otherwise "half-way" agents between that city and the frontier camp.² In the investigations and trials of 1864-65 two sets of remittance of gold *mohars* to the value of 6000 rupees were intercepted and four sets of *hundies* (drafts) for a total of 17000 rupees were traced through from drawer to drawer.³ A communication was also intercepted which showed that "a further remittance of 50,000 crystal stones" (i.e. rupees) was about to be made shortly.⁴ Besides these it was also proved that between the 2nd December 1861 and 8th December 1863, on which last date the above mentioned remittances were intercepted, *hundies* on Delhi to the amount of 35,349 were despatched from Patna⁵ and a similar amount was actually received by Ja'far at Thaneswar.⁶ The Ambala Judicial Commissioner observed that all this money was subscribed in Bengal.⁷

III. THE POSITION OF THE MUJĀHIDS ON THE FRONTIER AFTER THE TRIALS OF 1864-65

The share the Muslims of Bengal was further highlighted by the state of the *mujāhid* forces on the frontier where, even after the loss of about half of their number in the last conflict,⁸ there remained 13 *jamā'ats* or companies of 130 men each (that is a total of 1690 persons) and that almost all these *jamā'ats* were commanded by *jamādārs* from Bengal. The following is a list of the *jamā'ats* with the names of the commanders and their subordinates:⁹

¹ *Ibid.*, paras 66, 69, 73 & 87.

² *Ibid.*, para 66.

³ Calcutta High Court Judgement on Ahmad Allah's case, *Beng. Judl. Prods.*, May 1865, No. 78; also *Crown V. Shafi*, *op.cit.*, paras 118-122.

⁴ *Ibid.*, para 129.

⁵ *Ibid.*, para 122.

⁶ *Ibid.*, para 73.

⁷ *Ibid.*, paras 66 & 122.

⁸ See Panjab Govt. to India Govt., 1 February 1864, *op.cit.*, paras 112 & 120.

⁹ See *Selections from the Records of the Govt. of Bengal*, No. 42, *op.cit.*, pp. 142-144.

Company	Commanding <i>Jamādār</i>	Subordinates
1st Company	Na'im al-Dīn, a resident of Jessore district	Nazir Muhammad of Dhaka Nazir Muhammad of Rangpur
2nd Company	Sharī'at Allah of Rampur Boalia, Rajshahi	Mirza Raham al-Dīn of Rangpur Sharaf Allah of Sherpur, Bogra
3rd Company	Munshi Tufil Allah of Bhala-buria, Rajshahi	Dianat Allah of 24-Parganas Tālib Husain of Rangpur
4th Company	Mir 'Uthmān of Faridpur	Mawlawī Wahāj al-Dīn "a Bengalee" (residence not noted) Mawlawī Gharīb Allah of Nawaldhim, Burdwan
5th Company	Najuf Khān, a "mutineer", regiment not known	Allah Bakhsh, sepoy, regiment not known Hājī Ahmad of Patna
6th Company	Karīm Khān, "a mutineer", regiment not known	Shamsher Khān of Chowsabara, Bhojpur Nūr Muhammad Khān, a sepoy of Noa Lucknow
7th Company	Kalīm al-Dīn of Dinajpur	Khoda Bakhsh, a sepoy, regiment not known
8th Company	Mawlawī 'Abd al-Ḥaq of Surajgarh, Monghyr	Muhsin Allah of Daulatpur, Murshidabad
9th Company	Mawlawī Ibrāhīm of Palas-pur, Barasat, 24-Parganas	Hājī Hybat Allah of Karapatti, Pabna Munir al-Dīn, "a Bengalee" (most probably Hājī Munir al-Dīn of Rajshahi)
10th Company	Zīnat Allah, Cavalry Instructor, of Ramballabhpur, Pabna	Amir al-Dīn of Kumarkhali, Pabna
11th Company	Mawlawī 'Abd al-Ghafūr (residence not noted)	Rajab of Barasat, 24-Parganas
12th Company	Mawlawī Baṣīr al-Dīn of Aurabunia, Faridpur	Mufid Allah "a Bengalee" (residence not noted)
13th Company	Mulla Burhān al-Dīn of Mewat	Muhammad Husain of Mewat

The information disclosed by the trials of 1864-65 was not followed up by further investigations in the Bengal Presidency because, as it appears, the authorities still continued to view the question as only a frontier problem and because they were not yet quite aware of the extent and nature of the ramifications of the movement there. The trials were indeed a great set-back; but they by no means put an end to the movement. For, with the exception of the conviction of Qāzī Miyān Jān of Pabna the organization in Bengal remained practically unaffected and the leaders there, especially Ibrāhīm Mandal and Nazīr Sardar of Islampur, Amīr al-Dīn of Malda, Mawlawī Ibrāhīm of Mymensingh, Ḥājī Badr al-Dīn of Dhaka and Amīr Khān of Calcutta continued the work unabated. Similarly the important intermediate stations of Delhi, Rawalpindi and Peshawar escaped untouched; and at the frontier there remained, besides Mawlawī 'Abd Allāh and the forces noted above, a number of the male relations and active supporters of the Patna leaders such as Mawlawī Faiyāz 'Alī, (brother of Yahyā 'Alī and Aḥmad Allāh), Mawlawī Ḥāfiz 'Abd al-Majīd, (son of Mawlawī 'Ināyat 'Alī), Mawlawī Muḥammad 'Īsa, (son of Yahyā 'Alī), Mawlawī 'Abd al-Qādir, (son of Aḥmad Allāh), and Mawlawī Ishāq and Mawlawī 'Ya'qūb, (sons of Maqṣūd 'Alī of Patna).¹ At Patna itself there were also disciples to take up the places of the deported leaders. Thus Mubārak 'Alī, who held a power of attorney from Aḥmad Allāh,² and Khurshid 'Alī, the brother of Ilāhī Bakhsh, soon resumed the work and, along with Pīr Muḥammad, Ḥājī Dīn Muḥammad and others at Dinapur, continued to supervise the transmission of men and money.

After the trials of 1864-65 the government had taken over and demolished the Sadikpur premises of the Patna leaders. Hence the cantonment town of Dinapur near Patna now became in fact the chief rendezvous of the leaders after 1865.³ They also appear to have made certain changes in their codes of communication. Thus the frontier camp came to be referred to as "Gulshān" instead of as the "Big Godown" and a thousand rupees as "a maund of

¹ *Ibid.*, 142-143.

² *Beng. Judl. Prods.*, January 1869, No. 314.

³ *Ibid.*, July 1869, No. 71.

tobacco.”¹ Khurshid ‘Alī also used the Patna shop of his brother Ilāhī Bakhsh, who died soon afterwards, for the purpose of sending money to the frontier. It transpired later on that at least 10,000 rupees of the “collections from Bengal” had passed annually to the frontier through that shop alone.²

IV. THE LAST ARMED CONFLICT ON THE HAZARA FRONTIER, 1868:
THE FINAL INVESTIGATIONS AND TRIALS, 1869-71.

Thus men and money continued to flow to the frontier where the settlement, now in the Black Mountains, grew strong enough by 1868. On 1 October of that year the *mujāhids* crossed the Indus in that region and advanced upon the Hazara frontier. Thereupon the British India government sent another expedition against them under the command of Major-General A. Wilde.³ The *mujāhids* do not appear to have received any appreciable support from the tribes on this occasion. On the contrary the Amazai, the Mudda Khel, the Hasanzai, the Chugarzai and other tribes of the area cooperated with the British Indian troops.⁴ For about two weeks Major-General Wilde, accompanied by the *jirghas* of those Pathan tribes, fought and pursued the *mujāhids* who were ultimately forced to recross the Indus and retreat into the mountain fastnesses. After making fresh agreements with the border tribes Wilde returned to the plains thinking that further coercive measures against the *mujāhids* “were impracticable in a military point of view” and that “it was neither expedient, necessary, nor desirable to extend military operations further.”⁵

Before the end of this expedition, however, the attention of the Bengal government had been drawn to the “conspiracy” and investigations had been started in north Bengal. This happened at the instance of certain dissident members of the group including Mawlawī ‘Abbās ‘Alī of Jessore who had played so important a part in the movement in Hyderabad and other places but who had

¹ *Ibid.*

² *Ibid.*, January 1869, No. 314.

³ Report of General W.R. Mansfield, Commander-in-Chief, 23 October 1868, on “Events in Hazara from the 1st October 1868, to the return of the Field Force to British territory”, *Ind. Mil. Prods.*, Nov. 1868, No. 649.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ *Ibid.*

now turned hostile.¹ Acting on the information supplied by such men as also by an indigo planter at Kaliachak, Malda, named Gray, the Bengal government directed J.H. Reily, the Deputy Inspector-General of Police, Special Branch, to make a thorough enquiry into the movement. In the first week of October 1868, while the expedition on the Hazara frontier was still in progress, Reily succeeded in arresting 12 persons in Malda-Rajmahal including Ibrāhīm Mandal and Nazīr Sardar.² The clues obtained there were then followed upto Patna and Dinapur where the leaders were also apprehended in due course.

In order to complete the legal evidence against the arrested leaders as also to put an end to the whole movement it was thought necessary to trace out the chain of agents in upper India through whom reinforcements of men and supplies of money were sent upto the northwest frontier.³ The Bengal government, with the sanction of the supreme government, therefore wrote to the governments of the North-Western Province and the Panjab seeking their cooperation in the matter.⁴ The latter readily extended that cooperation and directed their respective police departments not only to assist Reily, whom the Bengal government had deputed to those places, but also to carry out independent enquiries to see if there existed any connection between those provinces and the "conspiracy discovered in Bengal."⁵ Meanwhile the India government, on being informed of the proceedings of the Bengal government, approved of the measures taken regarding the enquiries and desired their successful completion.⁶

For about two years Reily, assisted by the Extra Assistants Ishree Pershad and Nobokisto Ghose, conducted the investigations from Dhaka in the east to Peshawar and Abbottabad in the west, perseveringly following one clue after another from place to place. The investigations in the North-Western Province and the

¹ *Beng. Judl. Prods.*, Nov. 1868, Nos. 165-166. Also *Malda Report*, paras 9, 25 and Statement A.

² *Beng. Judl. Prods.*, Nov. 1868, Nos. 168-169.

³ *Ibid.*, No. 179 and No. 311 for January 1869.

⁴ *Ibid.*, January 1869, No. 326.

⁵ *Ibid.*, April 1869, Nos. 208-210.

⁶ *Ibid.*, January 1869, No. 310; also April 1869, No. 241.

Panjab resulted in the arrests of the agents at Delhi, Rawalpindi and Peshawar, all of whom turned out to be residents of the Bengal Presidency.¹ Excepting these agents no ramification whatsoever of the movement was discovered in these places. Reily had also sent a secret messenger, through the Deputy Commissioner of Hazara, to the hills to bring information about the exact state of the *mujāhid* settlement there. The latter's report showed that Mawlawi 'Abd Allah, the leader, had then been seriously ill, that he had with him at that time about 362 fighting men with eight *jamādars*, all of whom except one were from Bengal. They were: Rajab of Barasat, Diānat Allah of Malda, 'Abd al-Ghafūr of Hakimpur (24-Parganas), Mu'in al-Dīn of Rajshahi, Shari'at Allah of Rajshahi, Nūr al-Dīn of Jessore, Zīnat Allah of Pabna and Muḥammad Akbar of Azimgarh.²

It was also found out that the Akhund of Swat had been strongly opposed to the *mujāhids* and had been doing all in his power to drive them out of that country and that they had in fact been put to great hardships on account of the arrest of the leaders in Bengal and the consequent stoppage of remittances.³ The latter fact was further emphasized by the information that Mawlawī Faiyāz 'Alī had sent in word that he would surrender himself if only Mawlawī Ibrāhīm Mandal was set free.⁴ Earlier it was found out that Islampur on the borders of Rajmahal and Malda where the latter lived "was a village made up mainly of the families of men" who had been on the frontier or had died there and that all those families had been supported by him "out of the collections."⁵

Meanwhile on the requests of the Bengal government investigations were also simultaneously made in the Central Province, Madras and Bombay. In the last mentioned province no trace of the movement was found; the Commissioner of Police of Sind, which was then within the Bombay province and in which

¹ See Appendix to this chapter.

² *Beng. Judl. Prods.*, Nov. 1869, No. 278. Also Reily's Patna Report, dated 31 December, 1871, para. 55-56.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ *Beng. Judl. Prods.*, Nov. 1868, No. 185.

there was a sizeable Muslim population, specifically stating that "after careful enquiry" he found "no reason to entertain the belief that any sympathy whatever exists in Sind with the Wahabee movements and the conspiracy in Bengal."¹ The enquiries in the Central Province and Madras, on the other hand, led to the discovery of the information regarding the activities of Mawlawī Ahmād Allah Khān of Dhaka in those two provinces early in the sixties, noted above, and ultimately to his arrest at Raipur on the 27th of September 1869.²

In all, the investigations of 1869-70 led to the arrest of at least 64 persons, all residents of the Bengal Presidency but stationed at or working in different places.³ Of these persons 37 were detained under Regulation III of 1818 which empowered the government to arrest and detain political offenders without trial; the rest were released after preliminary enquiries. Of the persons thus detained under Regulation III two, namely Amīr Khān, the hide merchant of Calcutta, and Hashmdad Khān of Dinapur, moved the Calcutta High Court in its original jurisdiction challenging the validity of the proceedings under Regulation III of 1818.⁴ It was argued with considerable force that the Regulation in question, under which the plaintiffs and many others were arrested and detained, amounted to a suspension of the law of *habeas corpus* and that it was also *ultra vires* in being in conflict with the Parliamentary Act of 1833,⁵ Section 43 of which restrained the Governor-General-in-Council from making any laws "which shall in any way repeal, vary, suspend, or affect... any part of the unwritten laws or constitution of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland whereon may depend in any degree the allegiance of any person to the Crown of the United Kingdom." The High Court, by a majority decision, rejected the plea and upheld the action of the government but the Officiating Chief Justice, J.P. Norman, expressed some doubts about the validity of the Regulation in

¹ *Beng. Judl. Prods.*, Nov. 1869, No. 248.

² *Ibid.*, December 1869, No. 101.

³ See Appendix to this chapter.

⁴ See C.C. Macrae, *Report of the Proceedings in the cases of Ameer Khan and Hashmdad Khan, etc.*, Calcutta, 1870; also Lewis A. Mendes, *Report of the Proceedings in the matters of Ameer Khan and Hashmdad Khan*, Calcutta, 1870.

⁵ 3 & 4 Wm. IV. Cap. 85.

question. Against this decision, however, the parties appealed to the High Court in its Appellate Jurisdiction. They also brought a suit in the Queen's Bench Division (London) against the Viceroy and the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal to recover damages for "oppression, false imprisonment, and other wrongs."¹ These developments made the Governor-General and his Council somewhat uneasy. In their communication with the Secretary of State on the subject they, after noting in detail the grounds of objection raised by the prisoners and the points elucidated in the judgement of the High Court, expressed their fear that "of the large number of important Regulations passed under their authority... many would be open to question" and added that though the High Court had "more than once refused to allow the authority of the Regulations to be questioned, it is, perhaps, easier to defend its decision upon political than upon legal grounds."² They urged upon the Secretary of State, therefore, to remove the anomaly by an Act of Parliament.

The Secretary of State and his Council bestowed upon the despatch "that attention which the importance of its subject so peculiarly" demanded. They do not seem to have appreciated the India government's apprehensions, particularly the way in which Justice Norman had looked at the subject.³ In the meantime the appeal in the High Court had been rejected.⁴ In his reply, therefore, the Secretary of State asked the Governor-General to "rest satisfied with the judgement of the High Court maintaining the validity" of Regulation III of 1818 and also stated that "if no other reason existed for abstaining from Imperial legislation" at that time, it was certainly "inexpedient" to apply for the aid of Parliament when the question which had led to this correspondence were still "sub judice".⁵ What happened to the case in the Queen's Bench Division is not known.⁶ Most probably it was

¹ Judicial Despatch to the Secretary of State, No. 44, dated 16 September 1870, L/P&J/3, Vol. 14, p. 213. See also Mayo Papers, 29 II & III.

² Legislative Despatch to the Secretary of State, No. 9, dated 28 December, 1870, L/P&J/3, Vol. 14, p. 308.

³ *Judl. & Leg. Despatches to India, Original Draft*, 1871, L/P&J/3, Vol. 14, p. 57ff.

⁴ *Englishman*, 14&15 December 1870.

⁵ Legislative Despatch to India, No. 15, dated 9 March 1871.

⁶ There is no trace of the case in the *Law Report Digest* which deals with all cases brought before the Queen's Bench Division. (See Vol. I, 1865-90, Index of cases).

dropped either because Amīr Khān and some of his compatriots were soon successfully brought to trial or because of the assassination of the Viceroy, Lord Mayo, early in 1872.¹

Although the Secretary of State thus discountenanced the proposal for imperial legislation on the subject because of its being still sub judice, the India government had already taken steps to remove some lacunae in the penal code in order to bring the persons now arrested to successful trial and conviction. This the government thought it necessary to do in view of their experience of the trials of 1864-65. In the Ambala trial of 1864 the defence counsel, M. Plowden, had pointed out, and this had been argued over and over again during Ahmad Allah's trial at Patna and Calcutta in 1865, that Section 121 of the Indian Penal Code which provided against the offence of "waging war against the government" applied, according to its correct interpretation on the basis of the term "levying of war" against the Queen as it is understood in the English criminal law and on which the Indian Penal Code was avowedly based, to the offence of waging a war from within the Crown's dominions and not to one waged from without them, which was precisely the kind of offence with which the prisoners had been charged. It was argued therefore that the prisoners were entitled to their release on account of that omission in the law. Although the judge at Ambala, Patna and Calcutta did not accept this interpretation and held that the section in question applied to the offence of waging war from both within and without the dominions, the ambiguity of the law thus forcefully pointed out at that time did not escape the attention of the authorities. It also transpired during those trials that attempts to excite disaffection to the government by speeches or writings, which were exactly the things the *jihād* preachers had been doing, could be punished only if they could be proved to be an abetment of the offence of waging a war against the government - there having been no provision in the Penal Code against seditious preachings as such - and as this proof implied the actual happening of a war, it was often extremely difficult to prove the offence.

¹ See *infra*, p. 593.

When, therefore, investigations were started against the same kind of offenders in the late sixties and a number of persons were arrested, the Bengal government took an early occasion to point out to the India government the necessity for amending the Penal Code thus:¹

"the law as it now stands, does require amendment, so as to meet such cases as that of the Wahabees, for which there seems to be no satisfactory provision in the present Penal Code... There can be no doubt, His Honor thinks, that, where a population is at once ignorant and fanatical, as are the Mohamedans of India, seditious preaching ought to be made a substantive offence"

In view of this state of the law and the strict evidence which was required to connect the "seditious" preachings and activities in Bengal with the late campaigns on the north-west frontier, the Bengal government was well-nigh doubtful whether proceedings against any of the persons then arrested and detained "could be sustained in the criminal courts."²

Accordingly the India government sought and obtained the sanction of the Home authorities to supply that omission in the Penal Code by an enactment.³ "A Bill to amend the Indian Penal Code" was therefore published on 24 July 1870 which, after being twice considered and revised by the Select Committee, became law on 25 November as Act XXVII of that year.⁴ It inserted, *inter alia*, two additional Sections in the Code, the one as Section 121 A, and the other as Section 124 A. The first laid down:

"Whoever within or without British India conspires to commit any of the offences punishable by Section One Hundred and Twentyone, or to deprive the Queen of the sovereignty of British India or any part thereof, or conspires to overawe, by means of criminal force, or the show of criminal force the Government of India or any Local Government, shall

¹ *Beng. Judl. Prods.*, April 1869, No. 242.

² *Ibid.*, July 1869, No. 191.

³ Legislative Despatch to the Secretary of State, No. 11, dated 21 June 1869; and Legislative Despatch to India, No. 39, dated 10 Aug. 1869, both in *Ind. Leg. Prods.*, November 1870, Nos. 94 & 95. Incidentally it may be observed that now that the government recognised that there was an omission in the law, they should have in all fairness released the persons transported to the Andamans on the basis of the trials of 1864-65.

⁴ *Ind. Leg. Prods.*, November 1870, Nos. 98-13. In course of the correspondence on the subject at that time it was found out that in the Draft Code originally prepared by the Indian Law Commission and published in 1837 there was a provision, in Section 113, almost to the same effect as that now suggested. The proceedings of the Legislative Council contained no trace, however, of the reason for omitting that section when the Code was ultimately enacted.

be punished with transportation for life or any shorter terms, or with imprisonment of either description which may extend to ten years."

By an explanation added to this Section it was further provided that to constitute a "conspiracy" under this Section it was "not necessary that any act or illegal omission shall take place in pursuance thereof."¹ The second Section, i.e., 124 A, provided:

"Whoever by words, either spoken or intended to be read, or by signs, or by visible representation, or otherwise, excites or attempts to excite feelings of disaffection to the Government established by law in British India, shall be punished with transportation for life or for any term, to which fine may be added, or with imprisonment for a term which may extend to three years, to which fine may be added, or with both."²

Thus whatever gaps there existed or appeared to exist in the law were now removed. The ambiguity about Section 121 of the Penal Code, noted above, was now set at rest by the expression, "within or without British India", specially inserted at the beginning of Section 121 A. Secondly, the difficulty hitherto experienced in bringing the organizers and preachers of the *jihād* to task, because of the necessity for connecting their activities with any expedition or warlike activities on the frontier, was now removed by the adoption of a strict definition of "conspiracy" to constitute which it was no longer necessary "that any act or illegal omission shall take place in pursuance thereof." Henceforth these persons could be more effectively dealt with under this Section. Most important of all, seditious preaching itself was now made a substantive offence.

In the meantime, inspite of thorough inquiries and prolonged efforts the government could not obtain sufficient evidence to bring all the detained persons to trial. As in 1865 so in 1870-71 some of the arrested persons like 'Umed 'Alī and 'Abd Allah Kawāidī were prevailed upon to turn Crown witnesses. With the evidence procured through their help the more important of the

¹ *Ibid.*, No. 113.

² *Ibid.* This Section created some misgivings in the minds of the British Indian Association who thought that it might be used to restrict freedom of expression and memorialised the Governor-General-in-Council against it. In order apparently to meet this objection an explanation was added to this Section which read: "Such a disapprobation of the measures of Government as is compatible with a disposition to render obedience to the lawful authority, is not disaffection. Therefore the making of comments on the measures of the Government, with the intention of exciting only this species of disapprobation, is not an offence within this clause." *-ibid.*, No. 115.

detained persons were ultimately brought to trial at Malda, Rajmahal and Patna in 1870-71. In the Malda trial Mawlawī Amīr al-Dīn (son of Rafīq Mandal) was convicted of treason¹ which, on appeal, was also confirmed by the Calcutta High Court.² He was transported to the Andamans and his properties were confiscated.³ In the Rajmahal trial Ibrāhīm Mandal was awarded a similar punishment.⁴ At Patna seven persons, Amīr Khān, Hashmdad Khān, Mubārak 'Alī, Tabārak 'Alī, Hājī Dīn Muḥammad, Pīr Muḥammad and Amīn al-Dīn (of Barisal) were brought to trial. On the eve of the commencement of the trial Amīr Khān made an application to the Calcutta High Court to procure the removal of the case from the Patna Sessions Court to the former court in its original jurisdiction. The application was, however, rejected.⁵ The Patna Sessions Court discharged Hashmdad Khān and Pīr Muḥammad for want of sufficient evidence against them. The rest were sentenced to transportation for life with forfeiture of all their property.⁶ They appealed to the High Court which, on 21 December 1871, affirmed the conviction of Amīr Khān and Tabārak 'Alī and set aside the sentence of the Sessions Court in respect of Mubārak 'Alī, Hājī Dīn Muḥammad and Amīn al-Dīn on the ground that the evidence corroborating the testimony of accomplices, who deposed to their connection with the conspiracy, was insufficient.⁷ In view of his old age (75 years), however, Amīr Khān was not sent to the Andamans but was kept in the Indian jails.⁸

¹ *Englishman*, 1, 3 Oct. 14&15 Dec. 1870. The judgement was given on 26 August 1870.

² Full proceedings of the appeal-case appeared in the *Englishman*, 7, 9, 10 February, and 6 & 7 March 1871. See also D. Sutherland, *The Weekly Reporter*, Vol. XV (Criminal Rulings: Queen v. Ameerooddeen), pp. 25-33.

³ In 1883 Amīr al-Dīn returned home from the Andamans as a result of a general amnesty declared by the India government.

⁴ *Englishman*, 4 February 1871; also *The Englishman's Overland Mail*, 15 February 1871. Ibrahim Mandal was released in 1878 on ground of old age and ill health.

⁵ *Englishman*, 22 April 1871.

⁶ The hearing in the Patna Sessions Court continued for 41 days, from 30 May to 19 July 1871 and the proceedings were serially published in most of the leading newspapers of Calcutta. See for instance *E.O.M.*, 3, 10, 17, 24 June, 1, 8, 15, 22, 29 July, 5 August, and 2, & 16 September 1871.

⁷ The appeal proceedings appeared, among other papers, in *Englishman*, 30 Nov., 2, 4, 8, 12, 15, 16, 18, 19, 22 December 1871 and 1, 15, 20 and 23 January (Supplements), 1872. See also the judgement in Sutherland, *op.cit.*, Vol. XVII (Criminal Rulings), pp. 15-32.

⁸ Amīr Khān was released in 1877 on ground of severe illness. He died a year later on 9 November 1878.

V. EPILOGUE: ASSASSINATION OF NORMAN AND MAYO

While the appeal of Amīr Khān and others was still pending before the Calcutta High Court its Officiating Chief Justice, J.P. Norman, was stabbed to death on 21 September 1871 in front of that Court by a person named Abdullah.¹ And hardly had the matter ceased to agitate public mind when the Viceroy, Lord Mayo, was also stabbed to death on 11 February 1872, at Port Blair in the Andamans, where he had gone on a visit to the penal settlement.² The assassin was Sher 'Alī who had been transported there some five years ago having been convicted on a charge of murder. Coming as they did in the wake of the trials of the *jihād* leaders, these assassinations were naturally supposed by many at the time to be connected in some form or other with the trials of the *jihād* leaders or with the *jihād* movement in general. The *Friend of India*, for instance, wrote:

"Of Mr. Norman's character we speak in another column. What is more important now is to see the character of the murder. It bears all the marks of a political crime. This did not appear at first, for the rumour was set on foot that the murderer was a disappointed litigant. The rumour is exploded. Nobody knows anything about him as a litigant, but something is known of him as a Mahomedan, living at the Mosque at Chitpore Road, and a number of persons supposed to be of the same class as the prisoner left Calcutta in the night of the murder. It is no use mincing matters in such a case. Valuable lives are at stake and there are Wahabee traitors in all parts of the country ready to take those lives. It would be absurd to suppose that a man in the position of Ameer Khan, guilty or not guilty, could have anything to do with such a deed, which will almost certainly render his appeal more difficult, though it ought not to do so, for to him it is a misfortune. Whether, however, these men are, or are not, Wahabees, they have been tried for Wahabeeism, and there are knives in India that would be unsheathed at any moment in their defence. Mr. Norman has been believed to be firm in the case of these trials, and we speak of the prevalent feeling, which is only referred to in whispers, when we say that there is a belief that this fanatic - not mad, but a pure fanatic and one of the worst kind - in all probability had these and like trials in view..... The cool imperturbable impudence with which, in questioning the witnesses, the words 'Norman Sahib' came off his tongue, without a trace of feeling of any kind was sufficiently indicative

¹ *Calcutta Gazette Extraordinary*, 21 September 1871. Also *Mayo Papers*, *op.cit.*, 28 I. and the newspapers of the time.

² *The Gazette of India Extraordinary*, 12 February 1872; also *Mayo Papers*, *op.cit.*, 18 III & V. and the newspapers of the time.

of the man and the men with whom we have to deal... If a man of a gang strikes we must pursue the gang after seizing the man..."¹

Some newspapers were of course disinclined to assume any political intrigue behind the assassinations. Nonetheless, the religious persuasion of the offenders came in for caustic remarks. Thus, referring to Norman's assassin Abdullah the *Hindoo Patriot*² wrote:

"...and when we remember that his chief study, as we are told, lay in the peculiar logic of the Arabic school, we are not surprised that his mind was roused to the highest pitch of religious frenzy. Nothing could be more cool and imperturbable than the temper of Abdulla during trial. We saw him in the prisoner's dock at the High Court on Thursday last, and we were really puzzled at the calm indifference with which he surveyed the scene... The man did not shew the slightest sign of remorse, nor shed one drop of tear, even when the sentence of death was passed upon him. The stoical indifference with which he bore his terrible position has indeed few parallels in the history of Indian criminals. Upto the last he has sealed his mouth... the stoicism of the man plainly indicates that he had been actuated by some strong religious feeling. He probably imagines that he has secured a high place in Heaven by this cold-blooded murder... and so he is utterly indifferent as to the threats and punishments, which may be heaped upon him. Indeed as we looked at the countenance of the man at the High Court we concluded that he must have laughed within himself at the solemn pageant of his trial..."³

Similar opinions connecting the assassinations with the *jihād* movement or with the Muslims' discontent with British rule were expressed in many a London newspaper and by other individuals.⁴ The official reaction was of course not so vocally and publicly expressed. It was mostly contained in guarded expressions in departmental communications. Among the officials the most explicit in his opinion was J.H. Reily, the officer-in-charge of the *jihād* investigations, who stated, without advancing any positive proof, that the assassin Abdullah was connected with

¹ *The Friend of India*, 28 September 1871. The same issue of the newspaper contains (p. 1133) an account of the murder, the arrest and trial of Abdullah and an estimate of Norman's character.

² It was then edited by Babu Kristodas Pal.

³ Reproduced in *Friend of India*, 5 October 1871.

⁴ See for instance the *Englishman*, 26 October and 1 November and 16 November 1871, reproducing the remarks of the *Pall Mall Gazette*, the *Saturday Review*, the *Times*, etc. Also see the *Englishman* of 12 March 1872 which reproduces, under caption "Home News", the reaction caused by the assassination of Mayo in the Houses of Parliament, and the remarks of the *Times*, the *Daily News*, the *Morning Post*, *Standard*, *Daily Telegraph* and the *Pall Mall Gazette*.

Amīr Khān.¹

The reaction of the urban Muslim leaders was understandably one of unqualified condemnation of the crimes and of strong disbelief in any political motive behind them. A number of the educated Muslims wrote letters to the periodical press denouncing the assassinations and protesting against the insinuations of disloyalty made against the Muslims in general.² And in the public meeting held at the Town Hall of Calcutta to express sorrow at the untimely death of the Earl of Mayo Muslim leaders like Mawlawī 'Abd al-Latīf made speeches denouncing the assassination.³ Also the "Calcutta Mahomedan Literary Society", of which 'Abd al-Latīf was the secretary, held a separate meeting on 28 February 1872 and resolved to "record the unfeigned and heartfelt grief felt by the members of the Society" and the Muslim community in general "at the cruel assassination of the late Viceroy of India..." The meeting also adopted an address of condolence which was forwarded to Her Excellency the Countess of Mayo.⁴

The assassins Abdullah and Sher Ali were of course speedily tried and hanged to death, the former at Calcutta and the latter at the Viper Point in the Andamans.⁵ Neither at the time of their trials nor subsequently was any evidence discovered showing their connection with the *jihād* movement or with any of its leaders. Officially and publicly, therefore, the assassinations were treated as isolated acts of individual desperation. Nevertheless, in their heart of hearts, persons in high authority continued to think that the assassinations were probably related either to the *jihād* movement or to the Muslim's grievances under British rule. Thus Lord Northbrook, who succeeded Mayo as Viceroy, wrote to the

¹ See Bengal Govt. to Ind. Govt., Judicial No. 760, dated 1 Feb., 1872, in *Collection to Despatches to India and Bengal*, *op.cit.*

² See for instance letters of Zainuddin Hasan and Syad Abed Hasan in *Englishman*, 13 and 20 October 1871.

³ *Englishman*, 6 March 1872.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 4 March 1872.

⁵ Besides the official gazettes and other newspapers the Coroner's inquest and the court proceedings regarding Abdullah's trial appeared in the *Special Supplement to the Englishman's Overland Mail*, 27 September 1871. See also its issue of 29 Sept. and its *Overland Mail* of 4 October 1871. Similarly the reports of Sher Ali's trial and execution appeared in the *Englishman*, 4, 9 & 22 March and its *Overland Mail*, 8 March 1872.

Secretary of State on 26 September 1872:

"We send by this post a collection of all the letters of condolence which have been received on the occasion of Lord Mayo's assassination. I am sorry to have to say that these letters must not be taken as the expression of the opinion of the people of India. Mr....., who is a cautious, calm man, and who has made it his business to enquire into the state of Native opinion, reports that the news of Lord Mayo's death has been received with pleasure by the Mahomedan population of India (who consider Shere Ali to be a martyr), and also by many Hindoos. Sir John Strachey believes this to be the truth. I really have no means of knowing whether it is the truth or not. The difficulty of finding out what the people really think in this country is immense."¹

In reply to this communication, the Secretary of State (Duke of Argyll) reciprocated almost similar feelings. He wrote to the Viceroy:

"I have received today your letter of the 26th September, not a very pleasant one, for it intimates some belief that the Mahomedans have generally, or at least extensively, rejoiced in the murder of the late Viceroy;..... As regards Mahomedan ill-feeling, I suspect it cannot be conciliated. An exasperation of religious fanaticism appears to be one of the features of our time. But if there be any real special grievances which affect the Moslem population which we can fairly remove, by all means let it be done; for the rest, we must meet their ill-feeling as best we can."²

The investigations and trials, however, broke up the organization in Bengal and practically brought the movement to a halt. Meanwhile other forces were at work to counter the spirit of the *jihād*. It is clear, however, that the *jihād* movement as it developed after 1857 was essentially the work of the Muslims of the Bengal Presidency. It was from there, more particularly from Bengal proper, that men and money flowed for more than a decade to the northwest frontier which resulted in at least three clashes with the British Indian forces. During this period not only the rank and file of the *mujāhid* forces on the frontier, but also their leaders and commanders came from Bengal. It was also the monetary contributions from Bengal that sustained them on the frontier.

This almost exclusive share of the Muslims of Bengal in the

¹ Northbrook to Duke of Argyll (letter), 26 Sept. 1872, *Northbrook Collection*, MSS. Eur. C. 144 (Foreign & Commonwealth Relations Office), Vol. 9 (Correspondence with the Secretary of State), pp. liii-liv.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 26-27.

post-1857 phase of the *jihād* movement has been rather obscured partly by the attention which has hitherto been primarily focussed on the north Indian leader Sayyid Aḥmad Shahīd who first organized the movement; and partly, also, by an imperfect appraisal of the trials of 1864-65 which brought to popular notice the role of Muḥammad Ja'far of Thaneswar and Muḥammad Shafī' of Ambala. As noted earlier, these two persons were really half-way agents and that neither in the Panjab nor in the other provinces was there any organized support during this period for the movement or "the conspiracy in Bengal", as the authorities termed it. A certain amount of confusion has also been caused by W. W. Hunter's *The Indian Musalmans*¹ which, though avowedly based upon the facts as they obtained in Bengal, tended to convey an all-India impression not only because of its title but also because of the general nature of its treatment and, to a certain extent, because of its mixing up the theme of "disloyalty" with that of "discontent".

It should be noted, however, that the movement as it was organized in Bengal derived its main support from the rural and agricultural section of the Muslims although a few urban leaders and businessmen like Ḥājī Badr al-Dīn of Dhaka and Amīr Khān of Calcutta (Patna) did all that they could to help it. A combination of religio-political and economic considerations had induced these men not only to contribute liberally to the *jihād* funds, but also to join it as volunteers. Because of its essentially secret nature, however, it could not naturally develop into a publicly organized mass movement. Yet, considering the distance between Bengal and the camp on the northwest frontier, and the hardships and risks involved, the number of those who thus went there as volunteers was large enough. Their obvious object was to start the struggle for liberation from a country where the Muslims were independent. The independent frontier tribes who were thus in view, however, were differently circumstanced and accordingly their attitudes also differed. Often their heart was not in the coalition and, when pressed on by the British Indian authorities, they were the first either to leave the field of battle or to make

¹ It was published in 1871. See for a discussion on this work *infra*, pp. 644-651.

terms with the latter. In any case, even if the tribes had fully cooperated, the combination would probably have achieved little beyond creating frontier troubles and would have fallen far short of threatening the existence of British rule in the subcontinent which had emerged stronger after the revolts of 1857-58. In fact it was in the light of a frontier problem that the British Indian government had long viewed the developments in those quarters. When they became aware of the organization within the empire it did not prove difficult for them to suppress it and to bring the leaders to task. It is, however, not as a formidable undertaking but as one illustrative of a phase of the attitude of a large section of the Muslim populace, particularly of Bengal, to the altered political situation, and their dedicated struggle for the liberation of their lands from foreign domination that the movement has its real significance.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER XVII

LIST OF PERSONS ARRESTED AND / OR DETAINED DURING THE INVESTIGATIONS OF 1868-70

Sl. No.	Name and address	Date of warrant under Reg. III of 1818	Abstract of facts connected with arrest and detention and reference
1. Nazir Sardar, Kazigram, Malda 2. Ibrahim Mandal, Islampur, Rajmahal 3. Bannu Ghazi, Mozampur, Malda 4. Nawazi Molla, ditto 5. Abdul Wahid, Lakhipur, Malda 6. Jumon Shaikh, ditto 7. Sookun Molla, Agamilki, Malda 8. Dukha Molla, ditto 9. Imarat Jamadar, Haripur, Malda 10. Shariat Biswas, Malda 11. Jamir al-Din, Lohapur, Malda 12. Ghooran Khan, Mozampur, Malda	10 Nov. 1868 Released, (see 13 below) 24 June 1869 (see 13 below)	On the information given by Inayat Allah, a former member of the group, Babu Nobokisto Ghose, Extra-Assistant, was sent by Reilly to Kalia Chak in Malda where it was found that contributions were openly made in several adjacent villages for the <i>jihād</i> . The investigations there led to the arrest of 12 persons (sl. 1-12) from Malda and Rajmahal during the 1st week of October 1868. A number of witnesses examined by the Magistrate revealed that Nazir Sardar was a leader who, for several years, had induced men to go to the <i>jihād</i> and had, along with a number of others, levied contributions for the purpose. It also came out that Ibrahim Mandal of Islampur, Rajmahal, was the immediate superior to whom Nazir Sardar sent the contributions and recruits for their being sent to the frontier camp. — (<i>Beng. Judl. Prods.</i> , Nov. 1868, Nos. 165-183).	
13. Chuppoo Biswas, Rajmahal 14. Teenoo Shaikh, ditto 15. Suddoo Shaikh, ditto	Released " "	On receiving a communication from the detective department W.C. Wilmot, Asstt. Commissioner of the Sonthal Parganas, carried out investigations in the locality and apprehended 3 persons (sl. 13-15) who were	

APPENDIX — CONTINUED

Sl. No. Name and address	Date of warrant under Reg. III of 1818	Abstract of facts connected with arrest and detention and reference
16. Mubarak Ali, Patna 17. Khurshid Ali, Patna (brother of Ilahi Bakhsh) 18. Babur Ali, Patna 19. Muhammad Ismail, Patna 20. Choonnee Ekawala, Patna	23 Dec. 1868 " Released " "	<p>stated to be <i>jihād</i> agents and collectors of contributions under Ibrahim Mandal. On 10 Nov. 1868 the Bengal Govt. solicited the India govt.'s approval for the detention of Nazir Sardar and Ibrahim Mandal under Regulation III of 1818 and directed the release of the other 13 persons. Subsequently, however, strong evidence was found against Ghooran Khan (No. 12) who was again arrested and detained under Regulation III. (<i>Ibid.</i>, Nos. 184-186; also June 1869, Nos. 175-178).</p> <p>Following the clues discovered at Malda and Rajmahal Reily and his assistant Ishree Pershad went to Patna on 14 December 1868 and after investigations arrested five persons, (sl. 16-20). The evidence of several witnesses examined before the Magistrate showed that money collected in the "East" for the <i>jihād</i> was received at Patna by Mubarak Ali and by him made over to Khurshid Ali who sent it to the frontier; and the account books found in a shop managed by the latter afforded strong presumptive evidence of these facts. Inspector General of Police, Bengal, recommended the detention of only Mubarak Ali and Khurshid Ali; the other three persons were released after the preliminary investigations. (<i>Ibid.</i>, January 1869, Nos. 313-316, 320-322).</p>

Meanwhile, acting on a communication from the Bengal government the Magistrate of Rajshahi arrested Haji Muniruddin, Haji Khoda Bakhsh and Shafi Haji of that place. Witnesses were examined and the evidence showed that these three persons had long been preaching *jihād*, collecting men and money for the purpose and sending them on to Mubarak Ali of Patna. It was also found that Haji Muniruddin had been appointed Khalifa in that area by Mawlawi Faiyyaz Ali. Haji Muniruddin and Haji Khoda Bakhsh were detained under Regulation III but Shafi Haji was released on consideration of his very old age and broken health. (*Ibid.*, April 1869, Nos. 207, 227-228).

On being deputed by the Bengal government Reilly and Ishree Pershed went to Delhi where the house of Umed Ali of Barisal having been searched several letters were found which showed that he, with Aminuddin (Mawlawi Amin al-Din), also of Barisal, were the agents at Delhi for forwarding men and money sent from the east. Further investigations revealed that Mawlawi Nazir Husain (of Dinapur) was actually the leader of the group at Delhi. Some confusion regarding the evidence against him caused some delay in the issue of warrant against him. Meanwhile Aminuddin escaped from Delhi and went to Dhaka where he had married but was arrested by the Magistrate of that place. Izdat Bakhsh, who happened to be in Umed Ali's shop at Delhi at the time of its search was also temporarily arrested. (*Ibid.*, April 1869, Nos. 206, 211-212, 214, 218-220, 230; May 1869, No. 55; June 1869, No. 60).

28 Jan. 1869
Released
(15 Apr. '69)

25 May 1869
24 Feb. 1869
30 March 1869
10 Feb. 1869
Released

21. Haji Muniruddin, Rajshahi
22. Haji Khoda Bakhsh, ditto
23. Shafi Haji, ditto

24. Mawlawi Nazir Husain, Dinapur (Bihar)
25. Umed Ali, Barisal
26. Aminuddin, Ditto
27. Tobarak Ali
28. Izdat Bakhsh, Delhi (brother of Shahzada Firuz Shah)

APPENDIX — CONTINUED

Sl. No.	Name and address	Date of warrant under Reg. III of 1818	Abstract of facts connected with arrest and detention and reference
29.	Mawlawi Amir al-Din, Sandip Narainpur, Malda	22 April 1869	The evidence taken by the Magistrate of Malda (see sl. 1-12) satisfied him that Amir al-Din was in fact the leader of the group at that place. He was arrested in April 1869, and detained under Regulation III. (<i>Ibid.</i> , May 1869, Nos. 40-45½).
30.	Mitro Pramanik, Kambag, Murshidabad	22 May 1869	Enquiries in Murshidabad and witnesses examined by the Magistrate showed that Mitoo was the owner of a mosque where the <i>jihad</i> was systematically preached and subscriptions for the purpose were collected. Jubdoo was one of his very active preaching and collecting agents. (<i>Ibid.</i> , May 1869, Nos. 216-218).
31.	Jubdoo, Bhagawangola, Murshidabad	"	
32.	Abdul Aziz alias Sanjoo, Tooktala, Chhopra (Bihar)	9 April 1869	Investigations carried on in the Panjab on the information of the Bengal government led to the arrest at Rawalpiindi of two agents, Abdul Aziz and Fakirullah, both from Bihar, who, along with some others, notably Abdul Rahman of Dinapur, were engaged in passing up recruits and remittances from Bengal. Abdul Rahman was arrested at Dinapur (see No. 37 below). (<i>Ibid.</i> , June 1869, Nos. 70-71).
33.	Fakirullah Darzi, Gopiganj, Mirzapur	"	
34.	Pir Muhammad, Dinapur (Bihar)	12 June 1869	Following up the clues discovered at Patna Reily and Ishree Pershad proceeded to Dinapur where they scar-

35. Haji Din Muhammad, ditto.	16 July 1869	ched the house of Pir Muhammad and found account books and letters showing that he was the leader of the group there and received money and communications from Amir Khan of Calcutta as well as from persons at Patna. Examination of witnesses implicated 11 others who worked under the leadership of Pir Muhammad. All the persons were arrested and detained (sl. 34-46) on Reily's recommendation for the purpose of completing the investigations in the North-Western Province (Oudh) and the Panjab. (<i>Ibid.</i> , June 1869, Nos. 187-190; July 1869, Nos. 72-75).
36. Boodhoo Khan, ditto.	"	
37. Mawlawi Abdul Rahman, ditto	"	
38. Karim Bakhsh, ditto.	"	
39. Miazi Khoda Bakhsh, ditto.	"	
40. Bhodye Khan, ditto.	"	
41. Ali Husain Vakil, ditto.	"	
42. Ilahi Bakhsh, ditto.	"	
43. Umdoo Khan, ditto.	"	
44. Sookhoo, ditto.	"	
45. Hashmdad Khan, ditto.	"	
46. Amir Khan, Colootola, Calcutta.	"	
47. Keramatullah Molla, Jamria, Rajshahi.	9 Sept., 1869	Further enquiries in Rajshahi led to the arrest in September 1869 of Keramatullah Mollah who was found to be an active agent of the <i>jihād</i> . (<i>Ibid.</i> , Sept. 1869, No. 158-163).
48. Mawlawi Ibrahim, Mymensingh	Released	Enquiries in Mymensingh in August 1869 led to the arrest of Mawlawi Ibrahim and his assistant Reazuddin.
49. Reazuddin, ditto (Riyad al-Din)	"	The former was released on recognizance and in consideration of his old age and partial paralysis. Regarding the latter the government did not consider the evidence procured sufficient to warrant his detention. (<i>Ibid.</i> , September 1869, Nos. 166-168).
50. Abdulla, Hajipur, Patna (‘Abd Allah Kawaidi)	23 Sept. 1869	Reily and Ishree Pershad took with them one Murtaza of Malda and Haji Din Muhammad and Boodhoo Khan of Dinapur (sl. 34-35) to Rawalpindi where they identified Abdul Aziz and Fakirullah Darzi, arrested earlier (sl. 32-33), and also Abdulla, who had been arrested recently. The latter was in fact a relation of

APPENDIX — CONTINUED

Sl. No.	Name and address	Date of warrant under Reg. III of 1818	Abstract of facts connected with arrest and detention and reference
51.	Abdul Rahman, Dinapur (agent at Peshawar)	28 Sept./ 9 Oct. 1869	<p>Haji Din Muhammad. (<i>Ibid.</i>, October 1869, Nos. 77-78).</p> <p>Reily and Ishree Pershad further took Murtaza, Haji Din Muhammad and Boodhoo Khan to Peshawar where they disclosed the names of the chief agents at that place, i.e., Mufti Husaini, Ahmad Ali, Abdul Rahman (formerly a Hindu of Dinapur), Molla Ibrahim, Molla Jahangir, Shamsher Darzi and Golam Rabbani and others, all from Dinapur and Bengal. All the agents except Abdul Rahman escaped arrest. It also transpired here that Mufti Husaini, under the name of Muhammad Husaini, had taken employment with the authorities at Peshawar as a spy for the government but did exactly the opposite work of transmitting men and money to the frontier camp. (<i>Ibid.</i>, November 1869, Nos. 64-67, 277-279).</p> <p>Enquiries in the Central Provinces and Madras led to the arrest at Raipur, on 27 September 1869, of Mawlawi Ahmad Allah Khan of Dhaka. It was found that in the early sixties he had attempted to rouse the sepoys of the Madras regiments against the British. (<i>Ibid.</i>, November 1869, Nos. 225-226; December 1869, No. 101).</p> <p>The investigations in the North-Western Province</p>
52.	Ahmad Allah Khan, Birwa, Dhaka	27 Sept. 1869/ 3 January 1870	
53.	Golam Shah Haji, Islampur,	24 June 1870	

Rajmahal	24 June 1869	
54. Maula Bakhsh, Islampur, Rajmahal (nephew and son-in-law of Ibrahim Mandal)		and the Panjab only emphasized the importance of the organization in Bengal, particularly of Ibrahim Mandal of Islampur. Further enquiries at the latter place led to the arrest of eight persons (sl. 53-60) who were found to be agents of Ibrahim Mandal and continued his work after his arrest towards the end of 1868. (<i>Ibid.</i> , August 1870, Nos. 53-54, 60-61).
55. Doosurti Mandal, ditto, cousin of Ibrahim Mandal	Released	
56. Fauzdar Mandal, ditto,	"	
(nephew of Ibrahim Mandal)	"	
57. Choto Haji Mandal, ditto	"	
58. Dilu Biswas, ditto	"	
59. Badulla Shaikh, Dilalpur, Rajmahal	"	
60. Mawlawi Abdul Rahman, Malda	"	
61. Amanat Mandal, Habilashpur, Malda	24 June 1870	Further enquiries in Malda led to the arrest of two persons, Amanat Mandal and Habilash Mandal, in June 1870. (<i>Ibid.</i> , August 1870, Nos. 44-45, 60-61).
62. Habilash Mandal, Shahaban, Malda	25 June 1870	Further enquiries by Reilly and Ishree Pershad at Patna led to the arrest of Mosharraf Ali and his son Muhammad Omar in July 1870. Bengal government declined to issue warrant under Regulation III for want of sufficient evidence against them. (<i>Ibid.</i> , August 1870, Nos. 34-36).
63. Mosharraf Ali, Patna	Released	
64. Muhammad Omar, ditto, (son of the above)	"	

N.B. The investigations at Malda, Rajmahal, Patna, North-Western Provinces and the Panjab had alerted the other leaders in east Bengal who absconded and escaped arrest. Also, the Bengal government did not like to arrest a large number of persons for fear that sufficient evidence could not be procured to bring all of them to trial and punishment. (See *Beng. Judl. Prods.*, December 1869, Nos. 238-240 and May 1870, Nos. 193-194).

CHAPTER XVIII REPUDIATION OF THE CONCEPT OF *DĀR AL-HARB*¹

The investigations and trials necessarily put the *jihād* organization in Bengal into complete disarray; but they could not by themselves put an end to the spirit which had engendered and sustained the movement. As it drew its inspiration essentially from a religio-political doctrine it really needed some sort of a doctrinal antidote to reverse the process and to bring about a change in the Muslims' attitude to British rule. This latter process had been in progress for sometime, specially since the defection of Mawlawī Zain al-‘Ābedīn of Sylhet and some others like Mawlawī ‘Abbās ‘Alī and Muhibb ‘Alī in the fifties.² The investigations and trials hastened this process and also induced the urban Muslim élite to come forward in redefining the Muslims' attitude and providing a theoretical basis for abandoning the policy of *jihād* or confrontation with the British rulers. In understanding the change of attitude that took place in the early seventies it is necessary, therefore, to take into account two broad facts, namely, a growing internal schism among the leaders of the *mujāhid* group themselves and the role of the urban élite.

I. INTERNAL SCHISM: ROLE OF KARĀMAT ‘ALĪ

It has already been indicated that since the battle of Balakot (1831) the followers of Sayyid Aḥmad Shahīd had come to be divided into two groups; the pacifists or the Delhi party, working for peaceful study and reform; and the activists or the Patna party, continuing the *jihād*. Though these two groups were thus divided on more or less geographical lines and the *jihād* movement had been gradually confined to the Bengal Presidency, the protagonists of the former naturally attempted from time to time to propagate their views among their fellow-Muslims in the east. The foremost of such preachers was Mawlānā Karāmat ‘Alī of

¹ In this chapter I have made use of an article of mine published in the *Dacca University Studies*, Vol. XIX, June 1971, Part A.

² See *supra*, pp. 480, 494, 544-545, 575.

Jaunpur (d. 1872).¹ He is said to have been earlier a follower of Sayyid Ahmad Shahid and had, in that capacity, travelled in Bengal to secure support for the *jihād*.² After the battle of Balakot, however, he adopted a different attitude and spent almost the whole of his remaining life in Bengal, preaching what he considered to be the correct principles of Islam.

In a pamphlet published later in his life Karāmat 'Alī stated that he had chosen Bengal as the field of his mission because he had found that the Muslims of that region had been steeped in "superstitions" and "un-Islamic" practices, and he apprehended that unless they were shown the correct path Divine perdition would befall them.³ This statement appears to have been accepted literally not only by his biographer but also by other subsequent writers.⁴ Such a rationale is both inadequate and misleading. It is well to remember that persons like Karāmat 'Alī who engaged themselves in polemics often referred to their opponents' beliefs and practices as "superstitions" and "errors". In fact, Karāmat 'Alī's claim tends to obscure the principal reason for his sojourn in Bengal which was not so much to fight superstitions and un-Islamic practices as such, as to combat the spirit of extremism upheld by the *Farā'idī* and *jihād* leaders in relation to the political status of the country. It may also be noted that there were no less "superstitions" and un-Islamic innovations among different sections of the Muslims in the region of Jaunpur in northern India, nearer his own home, which could have equally absorbed Karāmat 'Alī's reforming zeal; and that the eradication of the superstitions and innovations among the Muslims of Eastern Bengal was the very programme of the *Farā'idī* movement of the time, so that there was hardly any scope for another leader to undertake precisely the same kind of work in the same region and during the same period.

The last point brings into proper relief the nature of Karāmat 'Alī's mission in Bengal and helps us to determine the period of

¹ See generally for his life and activities 'Abd al-Bāṭin, *Sīrat-i-Mawlānā Karāmat 'Alī Jaunpuri* (Urdu text), Allahabad, 1368 H.

² The *Calcutta Review*, No. C., p. 95; W.W. Hunter, *Indian Musalmans*, London, 1871, p.

50, n.

³ Karāmat 'Alī, *Mukāshifāt-i-Rahmat* (Urdu text), Calcutta 1344 H., p. 12.

⁴ Bāṭin, *op.cit.*; M.A. Khan, *History of the Farā'idī Movement*, *op.cit.*, p. lxxiv.

his success there. He seems to have returned to Bengal not long after the battle of Balakot, most probably in 1835, and worked there continuously for 18 years. Nevertheless he does not appear to have made any appreciable headway against the preachers of the Patna school, nor against the *Farā'idīs* proper for a long time. This was so obviously because of the influence of the Patna leaders, Mawlawīs Wilāyat 'Alī and 'Ināyat 'Alī, on the one hand, and the *Farā'idī* leaders Hājī Sharī'at Allah and his son Dudu Miyān, on the other. Karāmat 'Alī had of course published his first important doctrinal work, the *Quwwat al-Īmān* (the strength of the faith), as early as 1837.¹ This had, however, called forth an immediate rejoinder from one of the supporters of the Patna leaders, Mawlawī 'Abd al-Jabbār who, in his *Jawāb-i-Quwwat al-Īmān* (a reply to the *Quwwat al-Īmān*) published from Calcutta in the same year strongly called in question most of the postulates of Karāmat 'Alī's work. 'Abd al-Jabbār followed this up by a more elaborate work entitled *Taqwiyat al-Muslemīn* (Strengthening the Muslims), published in 1840.²

It is not necessary to follow the points and arguments of these works in their abstruse details. Suffice it to note that important attitudes towards society and politics were sought to be established or rebutted through apparently innocuous religious issues. One example would illustrate the point. Karāmat 'Alī wanted to establish the finality of the four schools of Islamic law and otherwise emphasized the necessity for *taqlīd* or unquestioned imitation of the schools of Islamic Law. This was in sharp contrast with the doctrine of *ijtihād* or freedom of interpretation enunciated by Shāh Walī Allah and his son Shāh 'Abd al-'Azīz, the preceptor of the *jihād* movement. It may be noted that it was in accordance with a rather untraditional interpretation of the Islamic jurisprudence that the latter had pronounced British India to be a *dār al-harb* (a country of war), a concept on which the *jihād*

¹ It was published from Calcutta. Written in Urdu, it ran into 344 pages. The title was obviously so selected as to rebut the treatise on the *jihād* movement entitled *Taqwiyat al Īmān* (strengthening the faith) written and published earlier by Shāh Ismā'il Shahīd, one of the principal disciples of Sayyid Aḥmad Rai Brelwī.

² The full title of the work was *Taqwiyat al-Muslimīn fī ittibā'-i-Sayyid al-Mursalīn* (Strengthening the Muslims in following the tradition of the Prophet). It was also written in Urdu and published from Calcutta.

movement had been based. The same concept lay, implicitly at least if not explicitly, at the root of the *Farā'idīs*' suspension of the *Jumua*' and *Id* prayers and their defiance of the zamindari and indigo planting systems. As against this, Karāmat 'Alī seems to have proceeded on the assumption that once the principle of the finality of the established schools of the Law was accepted, both the movements would be stripped of their theoretical foundation. Be that as it may, that Karāmat 'Alī could not make any headway against the Patna school for many years is evident from the fact that support for the *jihād* continued unabated even in East Bengal till the late sixties.¹ During all those years he was also not much successful against the *Farā'idīs* either. His own writings do not indicate that he had come to any direct clash with the *Farā'idī* leaders before the mid-sixties. That he had established his headquarters at Rangpur in north Bengal, well outside the immediate orbit of the *Farā'idī* influence, is suggestive enough.

In the sixties the situation appears to have taken a favourable turn for Karāmat 'Alī on account of two developments. First, the *Farā'idīs* became considerably disarrayed and their organization was noticeably weakened by that time because Dudu Miyān, their leader, was removed from the scene first by his arrest and detention from 1857 to 1859 and then, after a prolonged illness, by his death in 1862. Secondly, and almost coinciding with this tragedy of the *Farā'idīs*, there came the trials of the *jihād* leaders in 1864-65 which resulted in the transportation of some of them to the Andamans. This latter event necessarily put the Bengal preachers and organizers of the *jihād* on their guard and made them loath to come out openly with their revolutionary and rather "seditious" doctrines. Such a situation offered an opportunity to Karāmat 'Alī as well as the dissidents of the *jihād* movement to come forward and challenge their opponents in open debates and discussions on the merits of their case.

II. THE BARISAL DEBATE, 1867 & THE MYMENSINGH DEBATE, 1869

It is no wonder therefore that we hear of the first important

¹ M.A. Khan (*History of the Farā'idī Movement, op.cit.*, lxxiii) is mistaken in assuming that the Patna school did not extend to East Bengal because of the latter's "reluctance... to come into conflict with Maulāna Karāmat 'Alī of Jawnpur".

encounter of Karāmat 'Alī with the *Farā'idī-jihādī* leaders Mawlawī 'Abd al-Jabbār¹ and Mawlawī Ibrāhīm of Mymensingh² only about this time. The debate took place in Barisal in 1867. Much preparation appears to have been made for this debate. One such preparatory step was the procurement of some *fatāwā* from the Makka Law-Doctors relating to some controversial points.³ A perusal of the proceedings of the debate, however, makes it clear that apart from certain minor difference of opinion on the methods of initiating disciples, there was very little real disagreement between the two parties on any purely non-political issue. Thus on the question of whether "practice" (*'amal*) formed part and parcel of "belief" (*īmān*) so that a non-practising individual was also a non-believer (*Kāfir*) both parties agreed on principle that "practice" did not constitute part and parcel of "belief".⁴ Similarly on the question whether it was near-obligatory (*wājib*) on the part of the parents themselves to cut off the navel cord of their new-born babies it was agreed that the requirements of the law would be met if the work was done by somebody else on their behalf.⁵

The real difference between the two parties, however, lay in their respective approaches to socio-political questions, more particularly in their attitudes to the status of the country under British rule. In fact Karāmat 'Alī wanted the question whether British India was a *dār al-harb* or *dār al-Islām* to be included in the agenda of the debate; but this was not agreed to by the other party on the ground of its obvious political implications.⁶ As if to force the hands of his opponents Karāmat 'Alī successfully insisted upon having a discussion on the permissibility or otherwise of the

¹ Mawlawī 'Abd al-Jabbār is generally known as a *Farā'idī* leader. He was an inhabitant of Barisal. Most probably he was the same person who had written the *Jawāb-i-Quwwat al-Imān*.

² Mawlawī Ibrāhīm was an important *jihād* preacher and organizer in Mymensingh. See *supra*, pp. 511, 516.

³ Most probably it was in connection with this Barisal debate that the Makka *Fatāwā* on the status of British India were obtained and that these were the *Fatāwā* subsequently used by the Calcutta Mahomedan Literary Society. See *infra*, p. 610.

⁴ Karāmat 'Alī, *Hujjat-i-Qāṭ'i* (The Irrefutable Proof, in Urdu), Calcutta, 1344 H., p. 104.

⁵ *Ibid.* The *Farā'idī* insistence on the desirability of the parents' doing the work seems to have been aimed at destroying the class distinctions that had been developing between those who performed the work and the rest of the Muslims.

⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 104-105.

Jumua and *ʿĪd* prayers in the country — a question which, as indicated earlier, was also connected with the basic issue of the political status of the land. The *Farāʾidī* leader and his associates could not avoid a discussion on this subject, — their opposition to the prayers in question having been so well known — but they appear to have circumvented the difficulty by reducing the issue to purely technical and apparently religious terms and arguing that the two prayers were permissible only in a place which satisfied the requirements of a *Miṣr al-Jāmiʿ* or a legally constituted township or habitat which had an *ʿAmīr* (governor) and a *Qāḍī* (Judge) properly appointed by a lawful Muslim ruler in order to enforce the civil and criminal laws of Islam.¹ Thus, in effect, their objection to the *Jumua* and *ʿĪd* prayers was based on the political status of the country though they cautiously avoided a direct pronouncement on it. Karāmat ʿAlī, consistently with his attitude of compromise, stated that he not only accepted the above interpretation of *Miṣr al-Jāmiʿ*, but also the simpler one which said that a *Miṣr al-Jāmiʿ* was a locality where even its biggest mosque could not accommodate a congregation of all the inhabitants if assembled together.² It may be noted here that support for both the views could be had from the law books.

As is usual with such disputations, the debate at Barisal ended indecisively. It illustrated, however, the lines taken up by both the parties. Karāmat ʿAlī tried, directly or indirectly, to force a discussion on the status of the country under British rule; his opponents did the very opposite thing of avoiding such a public discussion on the subject because, as they themselves indicated, of the political danger involved in it. The apprehension expressed here was clearly an outcome of the investigations and trials of 1864-65.

Karāmat ʿAlī was not however slow in taking advantage of the situation. Indeed the debate at Barisal proved to be the beginning of an era of frequent public disputations between the protagonists of the Patna school and their allies, the *Farāʾidī* leaders, on the one hand, and Mawlānā Karāmat ʿAlī and his

¹ *Ibid.*

² *Ibid.* See *supra*, pp. 312-313 for details about the question.

followers on the other. We have the full report of at least one such debate which took place in 1869 between Mawlawī Ibrāhīm of Mymensingh, the *jihād* leader of that locality, and Mawlānā Muhibb 'Alī of Islamabad (Chittagong).¹ The debate was held at Paikulah in the same district at the residence of one Sayyid Qudrat 'Alī Khān. A number of other Mawlawīs acted as judges and arbitrators on the occasion. The main point of contention was the doctrine of *taqlīd* which was supported by Muhibb 'Alī and opposed by Mawlawī Ibrāhīm. In the account of the debate, which was prepared by the former, the latter is made to appear as having fled from the place after having been defeated in the discussion.² Whether this was actually the case or not is not so important as it is significant that the protagonists of the Patna school were being met on their own grounds by a section of the 'ulamā' who now clearly belonged to the party of Karāmat 'Alī.

III. GROWING DISSENSION AND DISAPPOINTMENT

More important still was the fact that these debates and discussions hastened the process of dissension in the rank of the Patna school itself. The most damaging of such defections was led by Mawlawī 'Abbās 'Alī (of Jessore) who, as indicated earlier, had been an agent of the *jihād* movement for quite a long time having worked at Rawalpindi and Peshawar. He had now abandoned the cause and had come forward to preach down the doctrine of *jihād* and otherwise to establish the efficacy of the principle of *taqlīd* in general and the superiority of the *Ḥanafī* school of law in particular.³ As one connected with the movement, 'Abbās 'Alī knew full well the importance of Malda as the head-centre of the different district centres in Bengal. Accordingly he concentrated his attention on that place. His counter-preachings drew to him some others of the place like Etwari Biswas, the *gomasta* of an indigo planter, J.J. Grey, and an influential man in the area, and one 'Ināyat Allah, who had previously been on the frontier as a

¹ Mawlana Muhibb Ali Saheb Islamabadi, *Risāla-i-Tuhfa-i-Ḥanafīya* (Urdu text), Calcutta, 1878. Most probably the author was the same Muhibb 'Alī who, along with Zain al-'Ābedīn of Sylhet, defected from the *jihādīs* early in the fifties.

² *Ibid.*, Introduction.

³ *Beng. Judl. Prods.*, Nov. 1868, No. 168.

mujāhid.¹ Towards the end of 1867 when Mawlawī Ibrāhīm and some of his assistants from Eastern Bengal wanted to hold what they termed a "religious" meeting at Kaliachak in Malda, 'Abbās 'Alī and his supporters organized such an opposition to it that the former had to seek the intervention of the local police to enable them to hold the meeting.² 'Abbās 'Alī also challenged Mawlawī Ibrāhīm to a public disputation. The debate, however, does not appear to have taken place; but 'Abbās 'Alī and his followers now determined to bring the "seditious" and political nature of their opponents' apparently religious activities to the notice of the government authorities. In fact, it was on the information given by 'Ināyat Allah and the indigo planter J.J. Grey that the investigations in Malda were started early in October 1868, when the campaign against the *mujāhids* on the frontier was still in progress.³ In informing the Bengal government about the results of the first phase of the investigations there the Magistrate of Malda (J.O'Kinealy) made a special mention of what he called the "immense good" that Mawlawī 'Abbās 'Alī had done in that district and added that "were it not for his preaching, information obtained in this case, would never have been forthcoming."⁴ Thus, if the investigations and trials of 1864-65 had facilitated the counter-movement already set on foot by Karāmat 'Alī, its progress in north Bengal led, in turn, to further investigations towards the end of the sixties and the consequent trials and punishment of the leaders in the early seventies.

This second series of the investigations and trials was far more effective than the first one not simply because of the extent and thoroughness with which these were now carried out, but more particularly because of the fact that Bengal was the real breeding and recruiting ground for the *jihād* so that the apprehension and detention of the leaders and their numerous agents there had a crushing effect on the settlement on the frontier. As early as the middle of 1869, when the investigations were not even halfway through, it was found that for want of

¹ *Ibid.*

² *Ibid.*

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ *Ibid.*

supplies and food many recruits had left the frontier camp and had returned to Bengal.¹ About the same time, when the investigations were being carried out at Patna, 'Abd al-Hamīd, the eldest son of Mawlawī Ahmad Allah (who had been convicted and transported to the Andamans in 1865), came forward with the offer to disclose the whole movement on condition that his younger brothers, who had been taken to the frontier by their uncle (i.e., Mawlawī Faiyyāz 'Alī), would be pardoned and that the value of their paternal property, which had also been confiscated, would be returned. 'Abd al-Hamīd did not wish, however, to act as an witness.² Hence the Bengal government turned down his offer.³ But the fact that such an offer was made demonstrated clearly that the cause was now considered absolutely hopeless even by those who were intimately connected with the movement. To encourage further this process of desperation and the return of the recruits from the frontier camp the officer-in-charge of the investigations, J.H. Reily, suggested to the government that an offer of a free pardon to those who wanted to return would reduce the number of the followers of Mawlawī 'Abd Allah, the leader of *mujāhids* on the frontier, to a minimum when he would "retire (as he once proposed) to Mecca."⁴ In accordance with this suggestion an offer was indeed communicated to Mawlawī 'Abd Allah intimating that he and his followers would be pardoned if they would return to their homes and give security for future good conduct.⁵ This, however, does not appear to have induced him and his select band of followers who still clung to him to return to the British territories. What happened to them ultimately is not known.

IV. THE URBAN ÉLITE TAKES UP THE ISSUE: BRITISH INDIA PRONOUNCED A DĀR AL-ISLAM, 1870

In the meantime the disclosures made by the investigations about the "Muslim conspiracy" to subvert the British rule, and

¹ *Beng. Judl. Prods.*, Sept. 1869, Nos. 183-185.

² *Ibid.*, July 1869, Nos. 73-75; August 1869, No. 166.

³ *Ibid.*, August 1869, No. 167.

⁴ *Ibid.*, November, 1869; No. 278.

⁵ Col. F.R. Pollock to Sir H. Durand, 18 August 1870, *Mayo Papers*, (Correspondence), 52

the uncomfortable discussions that naturally arose in the local press regarding the Muslim loyalty in general, made their urban élite uneasy. They now felt it appropriate to come forward to call in question the premise on which the *jihād* movement had been organized and, otherwise, to redefine the Muslims' religious-political outlook vis-a-vis British rule.

The initiative in this new development was taken by Mawlawī Syed Ameer Hussain, a Deputy Magistrate posted at Bhagalpur.¹ In June 1870 he addressed a letter to the learned Mawlawīs of northern India asking them to give their considered opinion in the form of a *fatwa* (legal pronouncement) whether, according to the Islamic law, *jihād* was legal in British India.² It appears that he had so framed the question as to elicit the desired answer. Accordingly he had emphasized the practical rather than the theoretical aspect of the matter and asked:²

"Whether a *jihād* is lawful in India, a country formerly held by a Mohamedan ruler, and now held under the sway of a Christian Government, where the said Christian Ruler does in no way interfere with his Mohamedan subjects in the Rites prescribed by their religion, such as Praying, Fasting, Pilgrimage, Zekatt, Friday Prayer, and Jamaat, and gives them fullest protection and liberty in the above respects in the same way as a Mohamedan Ruler would do, and where the Mahomedan subjects have no strength and means to fight with the rulers: on the contrary, there is every chance of the war, if waged, ending with a defeat, and thereby causing an indignity to Islam."

To this question nine prominent '*ulamā*' of northern India gave a unanimous reply on 17 July stating that the Muslims of India had been protected by the Christians, and as such *jihād* was not legal there, "the absence of protection and liberty between the Musalmans and Infidels" being an "essential" condition for the legality of a religious war. "Besides", they further stated, "it is necessary that there should be a probability of victory to Musalman and glory to Islam. If there be no such probability, the *jihād* is unlawful."³

¹ He subsequently became a member of the Bengal Legislative Council. See for a short account of his life Bradley-Birt, *Twelve Men of Bengal in the Nineteenth Century*, Bombay.

² *The Englishman*, 24 September 1870.

³ *Ibid.* Of the nine signatories to the *fatwa* 6 were from Lucknow, namely, Mufti Sā'd Allah, Mawlawī 'Alī Muhammad, Mawlawī 'Abd al-Hayy, Mawlawī Faiz Allah, Mawlawī Rahmat Allah and Mawlawī Muhammad Na'im. Of the remaining three, two were from Rampur, namely, =

Ameer Hussain caused this *fatwa* to be published in the vernacular as well as English newspapers. Obviously the concluding portions of both the question and the answer were based on the prudential ground of "probability of Victory", and to that extent, therefore, their efficacy was open to question. In fact this weakness of the *fatwa* did not escape notice at that time and a correspondent of the *Englishman*, signing himself as "A Wahabee", challenged Ameer Hussain to procure a *fatwa* on the legality of *jihād* in India when there was a "probability of success and victory to Musalman" and when it was "believed that an *Imām* has appeared, and is ready to lead the faithful to victory". A *fatwa* on the basis of these two conditions, stated the correspondent, would "expose those who are hypocrites before the present rulers of the country, and we shall then see the *soonnīs* in their true colours."¹

From the last sentence it appears that the correspondent, if himself not a member of the Patna school, was evidently speaking for one of them. Ameer Hussain does not appear to have taken up the challenge. The issue was, however, taken up by the "Mahomedan Literary Society of Calcutta".² Their members, we are told, were greatly surprised to see the *fatwa* because it implied as if a "discovery" had been made "that the followers of Islam are not bound by their Religion to rebel against the British Government" and "as if the Mohamedan world were ignorant of the fact before."³ The apparent sarcasm in the statement was evidently intended not to hold Ameer Hussain upto public ridicule but really to emphasize the Society's own conclusions to the same effect; for, it was further stated that the Society, therefore, felt it to be "imperative" that a public exposition of the Islamic law on the subject should be held "in which it should be proclaimed, that such a Question as that which elicited the *Fatwah* was not one which a good Mohamedan in British India should for

= Mawlawī Lutf Allah and Mawlawī 'Alim Allah, and the other, Mawlawī Qurṭb al-Dīn, was from Delhi.

¹ *Ibid.*, 27 September 1870.

² A body of influential and enlightened Muslims, founded in April 1863, mainly at the instance of Mawlawī 'Abd al-Latīf, who was its Secretary.

³ *Abstract of Proceedings of the Mahomedan Literary Society of Calcutta*, 1871, Preface.

a moment entertain.”¹ The visit of Mawlawī Karāmat ‘Alī to Calcutta at that time was considered to be a “favourable opportunity” for the purpose. Accordingly he was invited to discuss the subject at a general meeting of the Society. In fact, this junction between Karāmat ‘Alī and his group with the Society in Calcutta is significant. It represents a sort of consummation of the counter-movement which the former had been leading for sometime past.

In the meeting of the Society which was held on 23 November 1870 Karāmat ‘Alī discussed the subject according to the tenets and teachings of the “Chief Imam”, Abu Ḥanīfa. After referring to several works on Islamic Law, the speaker quoted at length from the *Fatawā-i-‘Ālamgīrī*, an elaborate work on Islamic law compiled under the orders of the Mughal emperor Aurangzeb, and stated:²

“According to Imam Aboo Haneefa, a country which was *Darul Islam* does not become a *Darul Harb* except on the three following conditions being co-existent in it: 1st. That the Rule of infidels is openly exercised, and the Ordinances of Islam are not observed. 2nd. That it is in such contiguity to a country which is *Darul Harb*, and that no city of *Darul Islam* intervenes between that country and *Darul Harb*. 3rd. That no Moslem is found in the enjoyment of religious liberty, nor a *Zimmee*... under the same terms as he enjoyed under the Government of Islam.”

Karāmat ‘Alī maintained that these conditions were not applicable to British India. As to the first condition, he stated, “although the Government of Christian Rulers prevails, still most of the injunctions of Islam are in force among” the Muslims. The second condition too, according to him, did not exist in British India, for, “not to speak of the countries beyond the frontiers of India, there are many small Principalities even in the very heart of the country which can be undoubtedly termed *Darul Islam*”. As to the non-existence of the third condition he stated that the entire Muslim “population of this country, amounting to more than a third of the inhabitants, have continued just as they were before the advent of the British, and the remaining two-thirds are Hindoos, who were *Zimmees*... during the “Muslim sway,” and

¹ *Ibid.*

² *Abstract of Proceedings, etc.*, reproduced in M.M. Ali, (ed.), *Autobiography and other writings of Nawab Abdul Latif Khan Bahadur*, Chittagong, 1968, p. 116.

are in no wise worse off.”¹ The speaker thus concluded that British India was a *Dār al-Islām*, and as such neither a *jihād* in nor a *hijrat* from it was legal. “Now”, he concluded, “if any misguided wretch, owing to his perverse fortune, were to wage war against the Ruling powers of this Country, British India, such war would be rightly pronounced rebellion,” and rebellion is strictly forbidden by the Islamic law. “Therefore such war will likewise be unlawful; and in case any one would wage such war,” the Muslim subjects “would be bound to assist their Rulers; and in conjunction with their Rulers, to fight with such rebels.”²

In thus enunciating the principle of the law Karāmat ‘Alī was aware, however, that the two principal disciples of Imām Abu Ḥanīfa, Imāms Abū Yūsuf and Muḥammad, held a different view on the question in that they regarded the existence of only one condition as sufficient to transform a *Dār al-Islām* into a *Dār al-Harb*, namely, the open establishment in it of the “rule of infidels”. Karāmat ‘Alī maintained that this view of theirs was probably based on the analogy that a *Dār al-Harb* becomes a *Dār al-Islām* simply by the establishment of the Muslim power in it. Be that as it may, the views of the disciples could have precedence only in such questions on which no specific opinion of the Chief Imām was forthcoming. Citing the authority of *Durr al-Mukhtār*, a well known work on Islamic law,³ Karāmat ‘Alī stated:⁴

“The most accurate procedure is that... the final decision should be given in all cases in accordance with the opinion of the Chief Imam (Aboo Haneefah). But if his opinion be not forthcoming with reference to any point, then that point should be decided in accordance with the opinion of the Second Imam, (Aboo Yusuff, First Disciple of Imam Aboo Haneefah). Again, when his (the Second Imam’s) opinion is not forthcoming on any point, it would then be decided in accordance with the opinion of the third Imam, Imam Muhammad, Second Disciple of Imam Aboo Haneefah).

Thus Karāmat ‘Alī fortified his conclusion that British India was a *Dār al-Islām* and that therefore it was not legal on the part of the Muslims to wage a *jihād* in it.

¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 118-119.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 119-120.

³ It was compiled in the 11th century H. by Mawlana Muhammad ‘Alā al-Dīn Hashkajī bin Shaikh ‘Alī of Damascus.

⁴ *Abstract of Proceedings, etc.*, in M.M. Ali, *op.cit.*, p. 117.

On the conclusion of his lecture another person, Mawlawī Fazli 'Alī, read a paper in Persian supporting Karāmat 'Alī's statements by quoting from various other texts. Fazli 'Alī also brought three additional arguments to bear upon the subject. First, he pointed out that ever since the commencement of British rule in India thousands of the "most learned, holy and pious" Muslims had been born, and had lived all their lives there. Moreover, many such persons had also come from the two holy cities of Makka and Madina to live in British India. Had those men considered British India a *Dār al-Harb* they would not have done this, thus marring "their good prospects in the other world", and would certainly have migrated from this land for doing which they had ample means. Secondly, in British India "all the learned" Muslims considered it unlawful to take interest on money lent not only to Muslims but also to non-Muslims. Had they considered this country a *Dār al-Harb*, argued Fazli 'Alī, the very reverse would have been the case, for "it was lawful to take interest from infidels... in *Darul Harb*." Thirdly, the speaker referred to the "great cordiality and friendship" that existed at that time between the Sultān of Turkey, "the Khadim or Servant of the two Holy cities of Makka and Madina", and the British nation, and said that although this might not be an argument to prove that British India was a *Dār al-Islām*, it was a "sufficient argument" to show that *jihād* against the British nation, an ally of the Sultān, was "unlawful and prohibited".¹ The last point was further elaborated by the Secretary of the Society, Mawlawī 'Abd al-Latīf Khān Bahādur who, in his speech, discussed the Crimean War (1854-65) and also the diplomatic manoeuvre of the British against the threatening attitude of Russia during the Franco-Prussian war (1870), thus emphasizing the utter impropriety for Indian Muslims ever to entertain feelings of hostility towards the British nation.²

The proceedings of this meeting were published by the Society in the form of a tract together with a series of three *fatāwa* of the three *Muftīs* of Makka, belonging respectively to the

¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 120-121.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 127-131.

Ḥanafī, *Shāfe'ī* and *Mālikī* schools of law.¹ These *fatāwa*, which also pronounced British India to be a *Dār al-Islām*, were said to have been brought from that holy city by one Ḥājī Say'eed Bakht of Sylhet towards the end of 1866 and were then in the possession of the Society. A "Note" to the same effect by Mawlawī Muḥammad 'Abd al-Ḥaq of Oudh, who was a non-resident member of the Society, was also added at the end of the tract.

In the meantime the *Shī'a* view on the question had been expounded by Amīr 'Alī Khān Bahādur of Calcutta, a distinguished scholar of the *Shī'a* law, who, "in consultation with the chief scholars of his sect including a great spiritual functionary of the ex-King of Oudh", produced a Persian pamphlet on the subject. Putting aside altogether the question of the status of the country or of the expediency of waging a *jihād* under the conditions, the tract emphasized that the *Shī'a* believed in the apostolic descent of twelve Imāms or leaders, of whom one had yet remained to appear. Until his appearance the faithful would suffer trials and tribulations and it would be vain to attempt a change in the situation by means of rebellions or such other activities. Moreover, a *jihād* or holy war could be legally waged, according to the *Shī'a* view, *only under the guidance of that Imām*. As he had not yet made his appearance, any attempt at *jihād* would be presumptuous and sinful. When that *Imām* would appear, stated the pamphlet, "is known only to the Omniscient God and to no one else. To commit bloodshed, except under the leadership of that *Imām* in person is strictly forbidden under *Shī'a* law."²

V. CONCLUDING REMARKS

Thus the different sects and group of the Muslim élite came forward with expositions of the law on the subject. Their approaches and arguments were clearly different; but whatever

¹ As indicated earlier, (*supra* p. 600) these *fatāwa* were most probably brought in connection with the Barisal debate between Karāmat 'Alī and Mawlawī 'Abd al-Jabbār and others in 1867. These *fatāwa* were subsequently reproduced by Hunter in his *Indian Musalmans* (Appendix) without any indication, however, that these were taken from the Society's tract which was published in March, 1871.

² Extracts from the pamphlet in the *Englishman*, 10 April 1871.

the logical devices, their common object was to demonstrate the illegality and impropriety of waging a *jihād* against the British rulers. The decisions thus authoritatively arrived at and announced had naturally an abiding effect on the Muslim masses for whom these were primarily meant. Syed Ameer Hussain, as indicated above, had taken care to reach them by means of the vernacular newspapers in almost all of which the *fatwa* procured by him had been published. The "Mahomedan Literary Society" had also taken steps to disseminate their view-points and distributed five thousand copies of the proceedings of their meeting. More important in this respect was the fact that they had in this matter secured the help and cooperation of Karāmat 'Alī who had already started a counter-movement with some success in the interior districts of Bengal. The contact thus established by the Society with an important section of the '*ulamā*' was helpful for both the parties. It gave weight and authority to the deliberations and views of the Society on the matter and provided them with the much needed channels for communicating their view-points to the rural Muslims through Karāmat 'Alī and his fellow preachers. The adhesion of the Society, on the other hand, secured to the latter the valuable support of the leading and influential Muslim group in the metropolis to whom many naturally looked up for guidance and advice.

It must not be supposed that discussions and controversies around the subject finally came to an end with such formal pronouncements. Indeed, occasional disputations between the followers of Karāmat 'Alī on the one hand and those of the *Jihādī-Farā'idī* group took place throughout the remainder of the century; but these lost their strength and vitality with the passage of time. The new attitude to British rule thus openly announced in 1870 in fact marked the formal ending of the period of resistance initiated early in the century by Shāh 'Abd al-'Azīz of Delhi, the preceptor of the *jihād* movement. The change in Bengal was the cumulative effect of the schism that had been gathering strength for sometime within the ranks of the *mujāhids* themselves, of the government actions in the form of prosecutions and legislation and, last but not least, of the timely step taken by the Muslim élite

to proclaim the impropriety, even according to the principles of their religious code, of hostility towards the British rulers. Such a formal redefinition of attitude was necessary not so much for the latter, for they were strong and now alert enough to cope with any manifestations of disloyalty, as for the Muslims themselves; for without this they could hardly have adjusted themselves to the alien rule and accepted the educational and other advantages which the new regime offered and in which lay their real chance of progress.

It was this element of self-rectification which in fact distinguished these new developments in Bengal from the policy of rapprochement advocated at that time by Sir Syed Ahmad Khan in northern India. Acting under the immediate shadow of the "Mutiny" he was naturally apprehensive of the rulers' retributive measures against the Muslims and emphasized, accordingly, not only the "loyal services" rendered by individual Muslims during the uprisings but also what he considered the defects in the administrative system by way of apportioning the blame for the outbreaks of 1857-58 between the rulers and the ruled. In other words, his primary aim was to change the rulers' attitude towards the Muslims. The intention of the Bengal leaders, on the other hand, was just the other way round. Their aim was essentially to bring about a change in the attitude of the Muslims themselves by a redefinition of their religio-political concept. In thus acting the Bengal leaders were doubtless impelled by the disclosures about the "Muslim conspiracy" to subvert the British rule, but they do not appear to have been actuated by any apprehension about arbitrary reprisals against the Muslims in general. What these leaders did was essentially based on their sense of propriety and their desire to pave the way for the progress of their fellow-Muslims by the adoption of an attitude of compromise with the rulers and, from that position, by educating themselves for the struggle of life that lay ahead.

How the British Indian authorities reacted to this formal Muslim pronouncement of loyalty is discussed in the next chapter.

CHAPTER XIX*

THE RULERS' ASSESSMENT: HUNTER'S INDIAN MUSALMANS

I. STAGES IN THE AUTHORITIES' AWARENESS OF THE JIHĀD MOVEMENT

In order to understand properly the reaction of the British Indian authorities to the formal pronouncement of Muslim loyalty made in 1870 it is necessary to refer briefly to the main stages in their gradual awareness of the *jihād* movement in general. The first Anglo-Indian official to pay serious attention to the spread of Sayyid Ahmad Shahīds' movement in Bengal was J.R. Colvin, then officiating Joint-Magistrate of Barasat, who, after having submitted a detailed report on Tītu Mīr and the Barasat incidents of 1831,¹ drew public attention to the popularity among Bengal Muslims of the tract entitled *Ṣirāt al-Mustaqīm*, written by Sayyid Ismā'īl Shahīd, a close disciple of Sayyid Ahmad's, and said to contain the digest of the latter's teachings. Colvin made a free English translation of the tract and had it published in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* for 1832.

Thereafter the attention of the British Indian authorities was drawn on a couple of occasions to the preachings in Bengal of Mawlawīs Wilāyat 'Alī and 'Ināyat 'Alī, the two most well known leaders of the *jihād* movement after Sayyid Ahmad.² The government had, however, as yet no clear idea about the nature and extent of the *jihād* organization within the empire. Hence they came to regard the *mujāhid* settlement at Sittana as essentially a northwest frontier problem. Even after the Mulka campaign of 1863 they had been thinking primarily in terms of a military solution of the problem. That investigations and trials were undertaken shortly afterwards resulting in the punishment of some of the leaders was rather accidental, for these were started not on any realization about the extent of the *jihād* organization

* This chapter is substantially based on an article of mine published in *J.R.A.S.*, No. 1, 1980, pp. 30-51.

¹ *Supra*, Part II, pp. 284-285.

² See for instance Lord Dalhousie's minute of 26 August, 1852, in *Parl. Pap.*, H/C, 1872, Vol. XLIV, 610.

within the empire, but, as already pointed out earlier, on the initiative of a vigilant Panjabi mounted police. This being the case, the urban public had been generally unaware of the movement till the facts about it were disclosed in the early seventies.

The military campaigns, specially that of 1863, had of course attracted public attention to the settlement on the northwest frontier; but the general feeling, like that of the government, was that it was essentially a frontier issue.¹ And since the government themselves had as yet no clear knowledge about the *jihād* organization within the empire, the two compilations of official records, namely, *The Gazette of India Extraordinary*, of 30 January 1864 and the *Papers Relating to the late Disturbances on the North-West Frontier*,² which were published almost immediately after the expedition, did not contain much to alter the general notion. The former contained all the military correspondence and details of the operations concerning the late campaign; and the latter, compiled mainly for the perusal of Parliament, contained the correspondence on this subject between the Panjab government and the government of India on the one hand and that between the latter and the Secretary of State on the other.

It was, however, in the course of their correspondence with the India government that the Panjab government attempted to give a connected account of the origin and development of the Sittana settlement. In their letter of 1 February 1864, which was in fact a full report made at the behest of the India government, the Panjab government indicated, officially for the first time, that the doctrines of Sayyid Ahmad Shahīd, the founder of the settlement, "were essentially those" of the reform movement started in Arabia by Shaikh Muḥanimad ibn 'Abd al-Wahhāb. Sayyid Ahmad's pilgrimage to Makka early in the twenties was made the occasion for contact with that movement, and it was further pointed out that it was in course of his journey by way of Calcutta that "his doctrines obtained the ascendancy over the minds" of the Muslims of Bengal which had ever since "led them to supply the

¹ See for instance *Friend of India*, 12 November and 24 December, 1863.

² *Parl. Pap.* H/C 1864, Vol. XLIII, Paper 158.

colony at Sittana with fresh recruits".¹ As the main purpose of these compilations, especially of the latter, was to examine, in view of the near disaster of the late expedition, if there had been any mistake or miscalculation on the part of the civil or military authorities, neither this statement about the historical and intellectual aspect of the Sittana settlement nor the indication of the Bengal Muslims' share in it attracted much attention at the time.

The general impression about the *mujāhids* was reflected in an article which W.W. Hunter, then a magistrate in an west Bengal district, wrote at that time and which appears to be his first writing on the subject. Writing in the *Indian Daily News* of 6 August 1864 under the caption: "Interior Sketches: I. The Wahabi" Hunter gave a description, apparently on the basis of his personal knowledge, of a *jihād* preacher in a mufassal town.² The missionary was made to appear as a sorry figure and the account, on the whole, was tailored rather to satisfy the curiosity of a casual reader than to provide any serious account of the *mujāhids*. Soon, however, the trial at Ambala was concluded and Hunter, having read the trial report, attempted a serious account in an article in the October issue of the *Calcutta Review* for 1864 under the caption: "The Indian Conspiracy, 1864".³ This was avowedly based on the Ambala trial report which it mainly reproduced in simpler terms. The same issue of the *Review* contained another article on "The Umbeyla Campaign", which narrated the expedition on the basis of the correspondence published in the *Gazette of India Extraordinary* of 30 January 1864.⁴ Meanwhile, on the conclusion of Ahmad Allah's trial, a *Selection of Papers*⁵ relating to the trial was published in 1865 which also contained a useful "Memorandum on the Wahabis" prepared by T.E. Ravenshaw,

¹ Panjab govt. to India govt., Pol. Deptt., No. 51, *ibid.*, p. 125.

² F.H. Skrine, *Life of Sir William Wilson Hunter*, Bombay, 1901, p. 100.

³ *The Calcutta Review*, No. LXXIX, 1864, pp. 124-137. The journal did not contain the name of the writer; but the article was subsequently incorporated by Hunter in his book, *The Indian Musalmans*, with the following comment: "Here, and in Chapter II, I have made use of an article which I put forth seven years ago in the *Calcutta Quarterly Review*" (p. 29, note). The insertion of the word "Quarterly" in the name of the journal was evidently by mistake.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 181-226.

⁵ *Selections from the Records of the Government of Bengal*, No. 43, 1865.

who had been in charge of the trial and who had made the *Selection*. Ravenshaw adopted and developed, however, the pattern already set in the Panjab government's communication noted above. Accordingly he first gave an account of the reform movement in Arabia and then related it to the Indian development through Sayyid Ahmad's visit to Makka.

The *Selection* of records relating to Ahmad Allah's trial, like the two other compilations, remained confined to official circles, and even there these were only consulted with any attention by those officers who were directly concerned with the matter. Even the impression created by the couple of articles in the *Calcutta Review*, which also, because of its learned nature, had obviously a very limited circulation, soon faded away because the government did not then follow up the enquiries into Bengal, the principal den of the *jihād* organizers. Consequently when investigations were started in Bengal towards the end of 1868, once again not because of the government's awareness of the extent of the organization there but because of a schism among the *jihādīs* in north Bengal, the information contained in the publications of 1864-65 was lost sight of not only by the public but also, initially, by those officers who were now put in charge of the enquiries.¹ In this state of general innocence the first reaction of the Anglo-Indian press to the government proceedings was in most cases one of skepticism about the existence of any widespread conspiracy to subvert the British rule; and when a number of persons including the well-known and wealthy Calcutta merchant Amīr Khān had been arrested and detained under Regulation III of 1818, this skepticism gave way to definite disapproval of the extraordinary proceedings.² One of the leading Anglo-Indian newspapers even characterized the proceedings as "the scandal of our Indian *lettres de cachet*" and a "blot on the Viceroy's administration."³ It

¹ When the evidence obtained on completion of the first phase of the investigations at Malda was forwarded to the Superintendent and Remembrancer of Legal Affairs, Rivers Thompson, for his opinion, he pointed out that much of the information gathered so far was already there in the *Selections* of records relating to Ahmad Allah's trial and recommended that copies of that publication should be furnished to the investigating officers, which was done. See *Beng. Judl. Prods.*, Nov. 1868, Nos. 171 and 179.

² See for instance *The Indian Daily News* (Calcutta), 15 & 17 August, 3, 5, 6 and 10 September 1870.

³ *The Times of India* (Bombay), 9 August 1870.

maintained that the conspiracy was "in fact a standing mare's nest of the Bengal police". "We have asked again and again", wrote the journal, "in what respect this Wahabee-hunting is any better than the witch-hunting in Europe three centuries ago, and the best reply we have got has been a reference to certain reports more than thirty years old."¹

Such criticisms, and the legal action taken by Amīr Khān challenging the validity of Regulation III, caused some uneasiness in the government and undoubtedly hastened the process of bringing some of the detained persons to trial and the release of the others.² It was, however, in this atmosphere of Anglo-Indian skepticism that J. O'Kinealy, formerly Magistrate of Malda and now in charge of the trials of the leading prisoners, began to write a series of articles on the subject which were published in the April, July and October issues of the *Calcutta Review* for 1870.³ It is not known whether he did so under instructions from the government, but his object was obviously to inform the English reading public about the nature and extent of the *jihād* organization and, by implication at least, to show the necessity for the measures that had so far been taken regarding the leaders of the movement. O'Kinealy had access not only to the previous records on the subject but also to the facts and evidence collected during the recent investigations. Hence his account was very elaborate, covering a total of 64 of the closely printed pages of the *Review*.⁴ Like Ravenshaw, however, he also accepted the theory that the movement was a manifestation of the Arabian reform movement and, on that assumption, devoted a considerable part of his first article to a description of the rise of that movement, establishing its contact with India, as usual, through Sayyid Aḥmad's pilgrimage to Makka.

From this position, however, O'Kinealy developed two themes. He stated that the Muslim hostility to British rule was due not to a political cause, to their having preceded the English as

¹ *Ibid.* The allusion is obviously to Colvin's reports and writings of 1832.

² See *supra*, pp. 587-592. Also *The Englishman*, 12 January 1871.

³ Nos. C, CI and CIII, 1870. As usual the journal did not contain the writer's name, but this was subsequently revealed by Hunter in his *Indian Muslims*, first edition, p. 147 note.

⁴ Pp. 73-104, 177-192 and 381-399.

the rulers of this country, but to a "puritan revival" — to the revival of what he called the "intolerant" spirit of Islam. In this latter observation he clearly betrayed an attitude common with the evangelicals of the time. However, elaborating at some length this theme he proceeded to state his second theme about the solution of the problem. He stated that already there was a want of unanimity among the Muslim schools as to whether British India was a *dār al-ḥarb* or a *dār al-Islām* and stressed that a formal "decision of this question in favour of the British government would deprive Musalmans of the right to carry on a 'jihad' against it; and an unfavourable decision would tend to disturb the minds of its Musalman subjects, and justify them in supporting a jihad."¹ Emphasizing the need for such a formal pronouncement O'Kinealy somewhat exaggerated the implications of British India being considered a *dār al-ḥarb* and stated that the Musalman "permanent resident would lose all civil and religious rights; his marriage contract would be dissolved; he would live in sin, and his children would be illegitimate." Thus revealing his palpable ignorance of Islamic law O'Kinealy concluded his second theme by sounding a note of warning to the government that the view most hostile to it was gaining ground.² The fact was that it was not the movement that was gaining ground, but that persons like O'Kinealy, because of the investigations, had been increasing in their knowledge about the extent and ramifications of the movement.

Before the last instalment of O'Kinealy's article was published, the Malda Sessions Court delivered judgement on Amīr al-Dīns trial on 27 August 1870. The report of this trial, which was published in various newspapers,³ showed that there had really been a widespread *jihād* organization in Bengal with its headquarters at Malda. This judicial disclosure, together with O'Kinealy's writings in the *Calcutta Review*, dispelled the skepticism exhibited earlier by the Anglo-Indian press. The change of attitude was typified by the *Englishman*, which

¹ *The Calcutta Review*, No. CII, 1870, p. 385.

² *Ibid.*, 392.

³ See for instance *The Indian Daily News*, 30 September and 1 October, 1870 and *The Englishman*, 1, and 3 October 1870 among others.

henceforth began to take an unusual interest in the subject. In noticing the Malda trial report it observed:¹

"From this document it will be seen that there had undoubtedly been a wide-spread conspiracy afoot for the purpose of subverting the British rule in India... However strongly, then, we may protest against the lengthened detention in confinement of suspected persons without any specific charge being made against them, we are not the less disposed to applaud the moral courage displayed by the government in arresting every individual against whom reasonable suspicions existed of his being involved in this odious conspiracy. No one can now doubt that it is, or was, a reality, and that its ramifications extended over a large tract of country."

It also tendered a word of praise and congratulations to "Mr. Reily and his subordinates for the admirable sagacity as well as tenacity of purpose" with which they had traced and exposed "the secret and mysterious working of this dark conspiracy". And a little later it favourably noticed O'Kinealy's articles in the *Calcutta Review* and expressed its gratitude to the writer for bringing to public notice "a sound and accurate knowledge of the facts".² It also took up O'Kinealy's suggestion for a doctrinal solution of the problem and observed that it was by "instruments very different from the sword of justice that any permanent effect can alone be produced". In this connection it also suggested that the government should "let in upon our Mahomedan subjects the light of Western Science" by offering instructions in a form which suited them, and should also secure "the sympathetic allegiance of their hearts" by opening some career to them "through which power and position may be obtained by those who desire to win them." If this was done, the journal concluded, "the Moulvies will incontestably prove, by one logical device or another, that the land in which all their healthy national desires are satisfied is the 'Darul Islam'."³

Nor was the *Englishman* alone in thus viewing the matter. Other journals also had for some time past been drawing government's attention to the need for doing something in respect of Muslim education. The *Asiatic*, for instance, had come out

¹ *The Englishman*, 1 October 1870.

² *Ibid.*, 19 November 1870, editorial.

³ *Ibid.*

almost a month earlier with the contention that the government had been largely responsible for the Muslims' having generally abstained themselves from the state system of education, for sufficient consideration for their sentiments and susceptibilities had not been shown in the educational arrangements.¹ However, the *Englishman* continued to press the matter and, in another lengthy editorial on 29 November 1870, laid stress on the "political and social grievances" of the Muslims and pointed out that the substitution of English for the "oriental" languages and the gradual exclusion of the Muslims from state employment, had wrought great hardships and disappointment for them. It also made an appeal that no more time should be wasted in reporting upon the Hugli Madrasa, for it was really time "that something should be done for the instruction of the rising Muslim generation." Disavowing any intention to restore the oriental languages to their former position the journal stressed: "All that we could ask, all that the more reasonable and enlightened Mahomedans themselves ask, is that some little regard should be shown for a time to the scruples and prejudices of a people who, but a brief century ago, ruled where we now rule..."²

The reference to the "more reasonable and enlightened" Muslims, made in the above editorial, is significant. It may be noted here that for some time past Muslim leaders like Mawlawī 'Abd al-Latīf Khān Bahādur had been endeavouring to secure suitable educational provision for the Muslims and had been, in that connection, pointing out the necessity for making some allowance for their religious and national susceptibilities. They

¹ *Asiatic*, reproduced in *The Indian Daily News*, 12 October 1870.

² The *Englishman*, 29 November 1870. It may be noted here that W. W. Hunter, who had been associated with the *Englishman* about that time and had definitely written a number of its editorials in March, April and May 1871, adopted almost a similar approach on the subject in his book, the *Indian Musalmans*, published shortly afterwards. It is largely on account of this publication that he has subsequently been credited or blamed for having advocated that policy. It is not known whether this particular editorial of the *Englishman* for 29 November 1870 was written by him. Assuming that he had written it, it is clear that the idea was not original with him and that it had been pointed out by others. Even on the admission of the *Englishman* itself, the suggestion was borrowed from the "enlightened" Muslims of the day. Moreover, the *Englishman* had first so spoken on the subject of Muslim education in its editorial of 19 November 1870, which could not have been written by Hunter, for, written mainly in appreciation of O'Kinealy's articles in the *Calcutta Review*, this latter editorial contained unfavourable remarks about the "statistical returns", a work on which Hunter had been engaged at that time.

had also been drawing government's attention to the plight of the Muslims in the field of state employment and to such other matters of grievance as the misapplication of the Mohsin endowment.¹ When therefore a widespread network of disloyalty was shown to exist among the Muslims and the necessity for securing their loyalty was thus demonstrated more emphatically than ever, the Anglo-Indian mind naturally turned its attention to these Muslim remonstrances and related the newly disclosed disloyalty to the known causes of discontent. In suggesting that education be offered to the Muslims in the form which suited them and that some careers should be opened to them the *Englishman* seems clearly to have been influenced by such Muslim remonstrances.

On the whole two broad facts emerge out of the discussions of the Anglo-Indian press on this question. First, with the disclosures about the existence of a widespread disloyalty among the Muslims it was now genuinely felt that something positive should be done to secure their loyalty. Secondly, the practical measures suggested for achieving this purpose depended largely on the view that was taken about the nature of the Muslim movement. One view, put forward mainly by J.O'Kinealy, was that the movement arose essentially out of a religious issue. It urged, therefore, that a formal decision in favour of declaring British India a *dār al-Islām* would largely solve the problem. The other view, which did not totally preclude a religious cause, and which was advocated by the *Englishman* and others, 'sought to interpret the movement mainly in terms of "political and social grievances". In identifying these grievances, however, this view readily caught hold of the suggestions made for sometime past by the Muslim leaders, in a quite different context, about the educational and employment requirements of the Muslims. It effected a sort of junction with the former view by holding that such measures in favour of Muslim education and employment would indirectly pave the way for their acceptance of British India, "by one logical device or another", as the *dar al-Islām*.

¹ See *supra*, Chapter VI.

II. THE ANGLO-INDIAN REACTION TO THE DECLARATION OF BRITISH INDIA A DĀR AL-ISLĀM

It was at this stage of the Anglo-Indian mind that the urban Muslim leaders, as noted in the previous chapter, came forward to publicly counter the spirit of *jihād* and procured several legal pronouncements (*fatwās*) declaring hostility to the British Indian government as not quite sanctioned by the legal texts. Indeed the above mentioned discussions of the Anglo-Indian press followed the appearance of the first *fatwā*, that procured by Mawlawi Ameer Hussain, which was published in July 1870. It cannot therefore be assumed that he, or the others like him, were influenced by the discussions of the Anglo-Indian press which took place in October-November of that year. Nevertheless, the *fatwās* appeared at such a time when an important section of the Anglo-Indian community had been thinking in terms of such a formal pronouncement on the nature of British India as a means to put an end to the spirit of disloyalty among the Muslims and when the government, naturally, were not only eager to punish the leaders of the movement but also to remove all grounds for such inimical activities on the part of the Muslims.

The *fatwās*, besides being published in the various newspapers, had also been submitted to the government by those who had procured them. The declaration of loyalty and its compatibility with the laws of Islam, which were the sum and substance of these *fatwās*, naturally attracted the attention of the government. The first official reaction to them was expressed in the discussions in the Legislative Council that took place about the same time on the amendment of the Penal Code for providing against seditious preachings, specially of those of the *jihād* leaders.¹ In moving the measure F. Stephen, who had piloted the legislation and had in fact voiced the sentiments of the government, referred at some length to the *jihād* "conspiracy" and then to the "several letters" which he announced he had received on the unlawfulness of *jihād* according to Islamic law. He observed that it was a "common misfortune of all creeds that in every religion there were those

¹ See *supra*, pp. 589-591.

who could carry their theories to extreme results, to an extent inconsistent with peace and good order."¹ It was not with regard to such persons, "who entertained the opinion that peace" between the Muslim population and their Christian rulers "was a thing impossible, and that it was a religious duty to make war under such circumstances", but to the "degree in which that doctrine had been rejected by the great body" of Muslims, that he wished more particularly to speak. Without entering into the technical questions as to the provisions of Islamic law he wanted to state "as publicly as possible" that the government of the country had no suspicions of the Muslim community as such, and knew how to distinguish between the rash opinions of what he called "a small and obscure sect" and the "sentiments of the vast" Muslim population, "as expressed in the papers he had before him on the subject."² He read out one of those papers, which was in fact the *fatwā* procured by Ameer Hussain, and observed that it was to the effect that if a Christian government "were oppressive and did not afford protection, a *Jihad* would be lawful if there was a probability of success." It was much like the common European opinion, he further stated, "that when a Government is very bad, the question whether rebellion is justified is mainly a question of prudence." The doctrine "which the gentlemen in question asserted to be the true doctrine of their religion", he concluded:³

"was that, where protection was given and accepted, there arose a contract between the sovereign and the subject which it was forbidden by every law of God and man to break. If liberty and protection formed a contract, no subject ought to rebel against his sovereign so long as the sovereign discharged his part of the contract; and to break that contract was not only to commit a great crime, but also a most grievous sin. That was a doctrine which certainly commended itself to the reason of the whole human race. It rendered possible and natural that loyalty should exist, and would,... continue from generation to generation to bind together the Queen of England, her representatives in this country and the vast body of her loyal Muhammadan subjects."

The impression thus created on the government was on the whole favourable and the latter thanked Ameer Hussain for

¹ *Ind. Leg. Prods.*, (25) November 1870, No. 113.

² *Ibid.*

³ *Ibid.*

having procured the *fatwā*.¹ It may be noted here that when Stephen thus spoke about the matter, the proceedings of the "Mahomedan Literary Society" had not probably reached him, for these were not published in their final form till March 1871; and though the meeting of the Society had been held on the night of 23 November 1870, a clear day before the above mentioned meeting of the Legislative Council, the time was still very short for forwarding the proceedings to the government. Nevertheless the purport of the Society's meeting was perhaps known to the government for it was held with their knowledge.² It is also on record that when the proceedings had been brought to the notice of the Viceroy, Lord Mayo, he had expressed himself "pleased" with the efforts of the Society to "calm the excited feelings" of the Muslims of Lower India and had "thought that those efforts were likely to prove useful." In any case, it is obvious that Stephen had "several" papers of the sort before him. Even on the strength only of Ameer Hussain's *fatwā* the government had been able to state that the "great body" of Muslims had repudiated the doctrine of *jihād*. More important than this was the fact that its logic that the affording of religious liberty and the acceptance of protection by Muslims formed a sort of contract, appealed to the reason of the government and it was this point which Stephen stressed most. This acceptance of the theory of an implied contract is significant, for in doing so the government had been really committing themselves to the next logical step: that of enquiring if they had in any way broken their part of the contract and had failed in their duty towards the Muslims. The remonstrances of the Muslim leaders in respect of education and employment thus assumed a new dimension and tended to strengthen this sense of self-enquiry and duty towards the Muslims.

The *fatwās* were also generally well received by the Anglo-Indian press. The *Friend of India*, for instance, was so impressed by the pamphlet published by the Mahomedan Literary Society that it (the *Friend of India*) could not find a "better secondary" to the "plea that something may be done to raise the

¹ *The Englishman*, 17 February 1871. See also Ameer Hossein's letter to the *Indian Daily News*, 4 March 1871.

² *Mayo Papers*, *op.cit.*

Calcutta Madrasa to usefulness".¹ It therefore called upon the Lieutenant Governor to "give a thought or two" to the subject of Muslim education. The same commendatory remarks were also passed by the *Pioneer* of Allahabad. Speaking about Ameer Hussain's *fatwā* it observed that it had "effectively extinguished all doubts as to the illegality, according to Moslem law, of conspiracy against the British Government in India." It also welcomed the Mahomedan Literary Society's pamphlet for in it was "collected such evidence on the point as makes the decision of Syud Hussain's *Futwah* absolutely indisputable."²

It was the *Englishman*, however, which had as late as 19 November 1870 generally endorsed O'Kinealy's views including the usefulness of a formal pronouncement declaring British India a *dar al-Islām*, that now began to criticise the *fatwās* as useless or hypocritical. About the *fatwā* procured by Ameer Hussain, it expressed its suspicion that "in the present unsettled state of the" Muslim mind "one decision on so important a question would be insufficient to convince the multitude."³ It also criticised the prudential ground which the *fatwā* had taken, namely, that there was no chance of success in the Muslims of India rebelling against the government, and that therefore a rebellion would be unjustifiable. "This view of the case evidently leaves open a very wide door for future changes", it remarked. It also criticised the government for their having thanked Ameer Hussain "for a service which", it observed, "must, from the nature of things, be worthless." A proper sense of dignity should have "dictated silence, if not a mild rebuke", remarked the journal. "That government should feel deeply concerned in native feeling about it is natural and proper. That it should betray a sense of anxiety by perpetually asking natives what they think of it, is weak and impolitic. That it should grasp at favourable expressions elicited by others, seems to be ignoble as well as weak."⁴

Such criticism of the *fatwā* naturally elicited a rejoinder from its originator, Syed Ameer Hussain who, in a letter to the *Indian*

¹ *The Friend of India*, 30 March 1871.

² *The Pioneer*, 31 March 1871.

³ *The Englishman*, 17 February 1871.

⁴ *Ibid.*

Daily News, rightly pointed out the *Englishman*'s mistake about the "prudential ground" in the *fatwā* saying that it clearly laid down that the existence of the two conditions simultaneously was essential for the lawfulness of a religious war.¹ This rejoinder, coupled with the appearance of the Mahomedan Literary Society's tract on the subject, occasioned another editorial by the *Englishman* on 10 March (1871) when it noted, at some length, the circumstances which had led to the publication of the *fatwās* and proposed to give, "on an early occasion", some details of what it called "this curious counter-movement by the Mussulmans with vested interests against the Wahabis."²

In fact these two and the subsequent editorials of the *Englishman* on the *fatwās* had been written by Hunter³ with the assistance of, as the journal pointed out a little later, by "one of the most distinguished Arabic and Persian scholars in India."⁴ The scholar referred to here was most probably W.N. Lees, principal of the Calcutta Madrasa, who had been a little earlier very severely dealt with by the Madrasa Enquiry Committee of which Mawlawī 'Abd al-Latīf was a member — who, also, on more than one previous occasion, had criticised Lees for the manner in which he had been conducting the Madrasa. It is noteworthy that these editorials of the *Englishman* made 'Abd al-Latīf's tract a special target of attack — an attitude which, in view of the esteem with which Hunter later on referred to 'Abd al-Latīf,⁵ was otherwise out of tune with the former's attitude. The fact that the editorials also drew elaborately on the *Jāmi' al-Rumūz*, the Islamic law text-book which Lees had introduced in the Calcutta and Hugli Madrasas in preference to the *Hidāya* and other texts, lends support to this identification.

Hunter and his associate took about a month's time to

¹ *The Indian Daily News*, 4 March 1871.

² *The Englishman*, 10 March 1871.

³ These editorials were subsequently incorporated by Hunter, almost verbatim, in the third chapter of his book, *The Indian Musalmans*, with of course the acknowledgement in a footnote at p. 121 (first edition) which runs as follows: "Here and elsewhere throughout this chapter, I have made use of some articles which I lately put forth in the *Calcutta Englishman*..." See also Skrine, *op.cit.*, p. 100.

⁴ *The Englishman*, 24 April 1871.

⁵ *The Indian Musalmans*, first edition, p. 197.

prepare their comments, for the promised discussion did not appear till 3 April 1871. Then they came out in a series of editorials of the *Englishman* for 3, 6, 17, 20, 24 April and 16 May 1871.¹ Broadly, the comments of the *Englishman*, or rather of Hunter and his associate, centred round three points: the circumstances and purpose of the Muslim *fatwās*, their effectiveness and accuracy, and the correct interpretation, according to Hunter and his friend, of the principles of Islamic law on the subject.

In the first couple of editorials Hunter alluded in brief to the development of the *jihād* movement. In doing so he almost echoed the sentiments expressed by J.O'Kinealy and related the movement principally to the supposed intolerant spirit of Islam.² Hunter next emphasized that the decisions which the "Calcutta Mahomedans now so ostentatiously" insisted on as the "true interpretation of the law" were opposed to the *fatwās* of Shāh 'Abd al-'Aziz and his nephew Shāh 'Abd al-Hayy, who had declared British India a *dār al-harb* and who had "carried the most weight with the orthodox" Muslims "since we conquered Bengal."³ The procurement of this new set of *fatwās*, stated Hunter, was in fact a "curious result of the enforcement of Regulation III" which had compelled the Muslim community to "stand and deliver."⁴ Their "comfortable classes" were now only "too glad of a pretext to wash their hands of the whole business."⁵ He also observed that since the government and the law were strong and effective enough to deal with any sedition, and since the seditious movement under notice was conducted not by the comfortable classes but by the rural masses, "it is neither the well-to-do Musalmans nor ourselves, who stand in need of such Decisions."⁶

Hunter held that the pamphlet published by the Mahomedan Literary Society would have no effect upon the "more zealous"

¹ These editorials were also reproduced in *The Englishman's Overland Mail* for 5, 12, 19, 26 April and 17 May 1871, obviously for the perusal of the readers in England.

² *The Englishman*, 3 April 1871.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ *Ibid.*, 17 April 1871.

⁶ *Ibid.*

Muslims who, inspite of the fact that the prison gates "have closed upon batch after batch of unhappy misguided traitors" and that the "courts have sent one set of ring-leaders after another to the lonely islands across the sea", continue to furnish money and men "to the Forlorn Hope of Islam on our Frontier."¹ He maintained that though a "really good argument against rebellion in India" might be deduced from the Islamic law texts, the Mahomedan Literary Society's tract did not contain it. The Society was wrong, stated Hunter, in pronouncing British India a *dār al-Islām*, for if it was considered "*de jure* a Country of Islam, it would have been a religious duty of all strict" Muslims to "endeavour by war or otherwise to make it also *de facto* a Country of Islam."² In this connection he also called in question the *bona fides* of the Society and the Makka law doctors who, he said, had significantly declared that India was a *dār al-Islām* but had "most carefully" avoided drawing the inference that rebellion was therefore unlawful.³

Then by making a comparison of the texts of the *Fatāwā-i-Ālamgīrī* and other works cited by the tract with the texts of the *Jāmi' al-Rumūz* and some other texts, Hunter stated that British India was really a *dār al-Harb*. This was so because the three conditions specified in these texts applied to British India, namely, that the rule of the "Infidel" was openly exercised in India, that there was no adjacent country of Islam to "prevent it lapsing into the state of Darul-Harb", and that neither Musalmans nor "Zimmis" [*Dhimmīs*] any longer enjoyed the *amān-i-awwal* or their previous religious status.⁴ Elaborating the second point, he dismissed the position of Afghanistan for "no one will pretend that Kabul lies between the route between England and India, or has any power to send aid to" the Muslim subjects of the latter. With regard to the religious status of the Muslims he emphasized that it was "entirely dependent on the will of their Christian rulers" and they enjoyed it "only in such degree as we choose to grant." "Nor has the religious status of the Zimmis or infidel

¹ *Ibid.*

² *Ibid.*, also of 20 April 1871.

³ *Ibid.*, 17 April 1871.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 24 April 1871.

subjects of the" Muslim empire, he continued, "undergone less change. The Christians are no longer subjects at all, but conquerors and governors. The Hindus no longer pay the poll tax (jaziah), and we have interfered with their religious usages in a hundred ways, such as killing cows, abolishing widow-burning, ignoring their system of caste, and giving legislative recognition and rights to converts to Christianity."¹

Thus arguing that British India was a *dār al-harb*, Hunter unfolded in the last instalment of the editorials his "true argument" against rebellion.² He stated that the present generation of the Muslims had not been responsible for India having lapsed into a *dār al-harb*; therefore they were not bound, "in the face of God's providence, and the immense perils in which a revolt would involve the true Faith, to have recourse to arms". When the English had first extended their empire, or when the Sikhs or the Marathas established their rule, he stated, the Muslims were doubtless "bound to wage holy war against the infidel invaders"; but upon the "total subjugation of Islam in India" and upon the "complete supersession of the" Muslim emperors by the "unbelieving" governors, the position of the Muslims had undergone a change. "For the sake of preserving such an amount of religious and civil liberty as the new conquerors would permit", he continued, the Muslims "by treaty and by passive submission accepted the position of subjects. In return they received the right of subjects, and became what is technically termed in their law *mustamin*, or 'seekers for protection!'" As such they obtained from their British rulers a certain amount of religious privileges. In return for this they accept, as "their forefathers accepted, the position of subjects, and the present generation is bound to adhere to the mutual engagement which has thus sprang up, and to perform the duties of subjects to their present rulers." A Muslim rebellion or holy war "would be a breach of this engagement, and as such would be against the most authoritative texts of their law". In conclusion

¹ *Ibid.* The reference is to Act XXI of 1850 which enabled a native convert to Christianity to inherit his paternal property.

² *The Englishman*, 16 May 1871.

Hunter solaced himself as well as his countrymen thus:¹

"We can never hope for enthusiastic loyalty from the more pious of our Muhammadan subjects. But if we behave with forbearance to their religious prejudices, and exhibit a steady integrity with regard to their civil and religious rights, we may reasonably expect acquiescence and peaceable subjection in return. Such acquiescence and subjection is now the religious duty of the present generation of Indian Muhammadans and of all succeeding ones. This is the end of the whole matter, and of the many fatwās which have been published touching the duty of our Musalman subjects to rebel against us, it is the one which is most completely borne out by the orthodox texts."

Thus Hunter made a fool of the Muslim *fatwās*, particularly that of the Mahomedan Literary Society and the authority of the *Fatāwā-i-Ālamgīrī*. He did not, however, state his reasons for preferring the authority of the *Jāmi' al-Rumūz* and the other texts beyond mentioning that these were "older and universally received" works. Yet it was the *Fatāwā-i-Ālamgīrī* and the *Hidāya* which were in fact universally respected and were definitely in force on the eve of the establishment of British rule — the British rulers themselves having taken steps early in their rule to translate the latter work (the *Hidāya*) into English for their guidance in the administration of justice. Hunter ought to have been aware also that the Muslims themselves had expressed their particular dislike of the *Jāmi' al-Rumūz*.

His reference to the position of Afghanistan in proving British India a *dār al-ḥarb* was as ludicrous as it was inconsistent with the warning he gave a little later to his countrymen that though the "Fanatical Conspiracy" was showing signs of breaking down, the "nucleus of a great religious coalition still" survived on the frontier and that there were the "probabilities of another Afghan war".² In claiming that the religious status of both the Muslims and the Hindus was "entirely dependent on the will of their Christian rulers" and that they enjoyed it "only in such a degree as we choose to grant" Hunter took a position which the government would not have openly averred and which was certainly not in consistence with the spirit of the Queen's proclamation of 1858. He took all the trouble to prove that India

¹ *Ibid.*

² *The Indian Musalmans*, first edition, 42-43, 105.

was *dār al-harb* and then rested his claim to the Muslims' loyalty in effect on the theory of an implied contract which was also the sum and substance of Ameer Hussains's *fatwā*. The latter had also implied that India was a *dār al-harb*. The same status for the country had also been recognized by a considerable section of the Muslims of northern India. In fact, except for his unwarranted imputation of an insidious design on the part of the Makka law doctors, and his harping on the maliciously supposed "intolerant" spirit of Islam, Hunter's contribution to the discussion on the subject was practically nil.

Hunter rested his theme of the contract not so clearly upon mutual undertakings as on "the total subjugation of Islam in India", on the Muslims' passive submission for the sake of "preserving such an amount of religious and civil liberty as the new conquerors would permit". This implied contract was essentially one-sided, based on the stark fact of defeat and a fear of further loss of religious and civil liberty, of "the immense peril which a revolt would involve the True Faith". At its best, this latter proposition was fundamentally no different an argument, though couched in a different language, from the "prudential ground" on which count Ameer Hussain's *fatwā* had been unjustifiably criticised.

Hunter indeed failed to realize this and the other contradictions in his analysis. India was a *dār al-harb* because the English had been completely victorious and had possessed arbitrary powers of interfering with the religious status of the Muslims which, also, had in fact been interfered with "in a hundred points". The Muslims must accept *the status quo*, because they could not help doing it, and as they did so, this meant an engagement. It was no duty of the "present generation" of the Muslims to wage a *jihād* because it was not they, but rather their forefathers, who were responsible for having failed to prevent India lapsing into the status of a *dār al-harb*; yet the "present generation" must accept the *status quo* because their forefathers accepted it. Hunter had castigated the *fatwā* of the Mahomedan Literary Society because it would have no effect on the "more zealous" Muslims; yet he did not pause to ponder whether his

“true argument”, based rather on a theme of defeat and disgrace coupled with insinuations against the spirit of Islam, would be more acceptable or even palatable to them; and then perhaps betrayed a realization of his own weakness by pointing out to his countrymen that they could “never hope for enthusiastic loyalty from the more pious of our Muhammadan subjects”. While belittling and ridiculing the Mahomedan Literary Society’s *fatwā* as inefficacious Hunter even forgot that at an earlier stage of his discussion he had congratulated himself and his countrymen that it was in favour of peace and loyalty. Referring to the dangers which might have resulted if the *fatwā* had been in favour of rebellion, Hunter had pointed out that even the powerful Mughal emperor Akbar “was nearly hurled from the height of his power by a decision of the Jaunpur lawyers.”¹ He had therefore considered it an “auspicious circumstance” that the very district, Jaunpur, had now furnished the Mawlawī “whose Decision is now so strongly opposed to waging war against the British power.”² Finally, Hunter maintained that the seditious movement was a result of the inherently “intolerant” spirit of Islam; and in doing so he assumed that there was in fact no distinction in Islam between “temporal” and “spiritual” issues; yet he laboured under an impression of such distinction when he assured the Muslims that the limited religious liberty granted to them by their rulers would be “sufficient” for the “safety of their souls”³ and endeavoured to convince them, by an appeal to their religious texts, that they should be loyal to the British.

The very day (16 May 1871) on which the last instalment of his remarks was published Hunter received a good rebuff from Ameer Hussain who, not knowing that the editorials had been written by Hunter, addressed a letter to the editor of the *Englishman* asking him, in “common fairness”, to compare the views enunciated in the editorials, especially the last one dealing with the theme of an implied contract, with the *fatwā* procured by him (Ameer Hussain) and published in that journal of 24

¹ *The Englishman*, 6 April 1871.

² *Ibid.*

³ *Ibid.*, 16 May 1871.

September 1870 and to tell him "whether both of them are not one and the same".¹ No reply to this letter, however, appeared in the columns of the journal. Meanwhile, even before the conclusion of the series of the editorials in the *Englishman*, Sayyid Ahmad Khān Bahādur in northern India had made sharp replies to the comments in two letters published in the *Pioneer*² and an article in the *Allygurh Institute Gazette*.³ He supported, in general, the conclusions of Ameer Hussain's *fatwā* and protested against the insinuations of intolerance against Islam. An indirect rebuttal of Hunter's propositions also emanated from an English authority on the subject, N.B.E. Baillie, who, in an article under the caption "Of *Jihād* in Muhammadan Law, and its application to British India", and published in the June issue of the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* for 1871,⁴ stated on the basis of the *Fatāwā-i-Ālamgīrī* and the *Hidāya* that there really was no interconnection between the concepts of *dār al-Islam* and *dār al-ḥarb* on the one hand and the duty of *jihād* on the other. He also lent support to the arguments of Ameer Hussain and the tract of the Mahomedan Literary Society.⁵

The government of India obtained copies of Baillie's articles with all eagerness.⁶ On the whole the impressions of an implied contract and the theme of education as the means of better securing the Muslims' loyalty appear to have appealed to the government. Indeed J.O'Kinealy, the officer in charge of the trials of the *jihād* leaders, submitted a memorandum to this effect to Lord Mayo, the Viceroy.⁷ Similar impressions and conclusions were also conveyed through extensive notes and memoranda on Muslim education by such experienced officers connected with educational matters as A.P. Howell and E.C. Bayley.⁸ The subject was also pressed on the Viceroy's attention by 'Abd al-Latīf and the Rev. James Long.⁹ In the light of these Lord Mayo

¹ *Ibid.*, 19 May 1871.

² *The Pioneer* (Allahabad), 4 and 14 April 1871.

³ *Allygurh Institute Gazette*, 12 May 1871.

⁴ *J.R.A.S.*, Vol. V., New Series, 1871, pp. 401-407.

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 404-405, 406.

⁶ *Ind. Pub. Prods.*, July 1871, Nos. 105-7, 430-431.

⁷ Mentioned in Lord Mayo's Note on Muslim education, 26 June 1871, *Mayo Papers*, 12III.

⁸ *Ibid.*

⁹ *Ibid.*

wrote a note on the subject of Muslim education on 26 June 1871 in which he clearly recognised the political implications of the matter and thought that a "brief and carefully worded" resolution "would be perfectly justified by the circumstances of the case, and would have an excellent effect on the feelings of the Mahomedan population at this moment".¹ In fact it was parts of this note of 26 June which were issued in the form of a resolution on 7 August 1871 wherein the Governor-General-in-Council expressed the desire that "further encouragement should be given to the classical and vernacular languages of the Mahomedans in all Government schools and colleges" and the "Local governments and Administrations" were asked to give their opinions "whether, without infringing the fundamental principles of our educational system, some general measures in regard to Mahomedan education might not be adopted, and whether more encouragement might not be given in the University course to Arabic and Persian literature."²

III. HUNTER'S *THE INDIAN MUSALMANS*

Shortly afterwards Hunter's book, *The Indian Musalmans*, was published. Its compilation appears to have been completed in mid-June 1871. This is clearly indicated by Hunter's statement on the last page of the book that at the moment he was writing those lines the "infamous" meat supplier, Muhammad Shafi', was giving evidence at the Patna Sessions Court against his former compatriots. Shafi' was in fact 47th of 113 witnesses examined by the Sessions Court in the case *Queen v. Ameer Khan and others* and he gave his evidence on 13 June 1871 which was reported in detail in the *Englishman* on the following day.³ The book was therefore completed in mid-June. Moreover, the dedication page at the beginning of the work records that Hunter dedicated it to Brian Houghton Hodgson, on 23 June 1871. This also shows that the book was completed before that date. Evidently the statement of Hunter's biographer that the book was completed on 29 June 1871⁴ is not quite correct.

¹ *Ibid.*, specially pp. 2 and 3 of the first proof copy.

² Resolution No. 300 (Home Department, Education), dated 7 August 1871, paras 2-3, compared with Lord Mayo's Note, *op.cit.*, paras 2-3.

³ See *The Englishman's Overland Mail*, 17 June 1871.

⁴ F. Skrine, *Life of Sir William Wilson Hunter*, London, 1901, p. 199.

The book was published in London by Trubner and Co. in the first half of August and was brought to public notice by the *Spectator* on 19 August. Writing on 25 August the London correspondent of the *Englishman* stated: "I presume Mr. Hunter's important work on the Wahabee movement had made its way to India. It has been brought to notice by the *Spectator* in an article which is attracting much attention..."¹ Till the beginning of October, however, the book did not reach India on any commercial scale. On 16 October the *Englishman* editorially observed that most of the Anglo-Indian newspapers had not seen the book but had based their comments on the "sensational" article of the *Spectator*. The *Englishman* further noted that a Calcutta book-seller, who had ordered 200 copies of the book before it came out at home, "could only get as a great favour 75. The truth is, that the success of the book in England proved altogether beyond what had been expected, and a large edition went off in a week, without the English papers apparently receiving copies... Several copies have now reached the Indian press,... We are glad to notice that a second and revised edition, it is stated in England of 1,500 copies, may be shortly expected in this country."

The book consisted of 215 pages (demy, octavo) divided into four chapters and three appendices. The first two chapters are captioned respectively "The rebel camp on our frontier" and "The Chronic Conspiracy within our territory". These are based on the articles on the *jihād* preacher and the Ambala trial written by Hunter in 1864 and J.O'Kinealy's articles in the *Calcutta Review* on which Hunter drew heavily, with acknowledgements, adopting the former's pattern and theme in respect of the nature and organization of the movement, the doctrine of the *mujāhids* and their literature, and even O'Kinealy's remark that the view most hostile to the government was daily gaining ground.² In the third chapter, which is captioned "The Decisions of the Muhammadan Law Doctors", Hunter reproduced with slight amendments the editorials which he had written in the *Englishman*. The final

¹ *The Englishman*, 20 September 1871.

² *The Indian Musalmans*, first edition, pp. 42-53.

chapter, on "The wrongs of the Musalmans under British rule", adopted the arguments and suggestions that had already been made on the subject of Muslim education and employment by the Muslim leaders, prominent government officials and a number of Anglo-Indian journals. In fact Hunter himself acknowledged that "several of the ideas contained in this chapter" were borrowed from Mawlawī 'Abd al-Latīf, "the most distinguished Musalman Reformer of the Day",¹ E. C. Bayley, "the Indian statesman" who knew the Muslims "best",² J. O'Kinealy and W. N. Lees.³ Even the description of the proportion of Muslims in government services was admittedly based on a series of articles which Hunter had written in 1869 in the *Pioneer*.⁴

The book thus contained nothing new or exceptional in it. Yet Hunter has been regarded, mainly on account of the last chapter of his book, as the progenitor of Muslim "separatism" and has even been linked with a deliberate official policy of divide and rule.⁵ And as if to bring home this assumption, an undue emphasis has been laid on the rather dubious information that Lord Mayo, the Viceroy, asked Hunter on 30 May 1871 to write the book and that the latter complied with this requisition in all haste, having completed the work in about three weeks' time.⁶ An upshot of this assumption has been some earnest endeavours in recent times to show from official records that Muslims in the different provinces in British India, except Bengal, did not fare so badly in respect of education and employment as really to necessitate any special measures in this regard,⁷ although Hunter himself did nowhere in his book suggest that such was the case and did in fact more than once mention that his remarks applied to the state of affairs in the Bēngal Presidency.

It is quite unlikely that Hunter had been officially commis-

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 197.

² *Ibid.*, 175, 197. In a footnote on the latter page Hunter specifically acknowledges his debt to Bayley thus: "Mr. E. C. Bayley, to whose notes I owe several of the ideas contained in this chapter."

³ *Ibid.*, p. 197, note.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 164.

⁵ See for instance, Anil Seal, *The Emergence of Indian Nationalism*, Cambridge, 1968, pp. 300-320; Peter Hardy, *The Muslims of British India*, Cambridge, 1972, pp. 79-91.

⁶ Hardy, *op.cit.*, 85; Seal, *op.cit.*, 307n.

⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 300-320.

sioned to write the book. If the Viceroy had at all asked him to prepare such a work, it was most probably in a casual way and in his private capacity. For one thing, by mid-1871 the government did not need any exposition from Hunter, or for that matter from any particular individual, about the nature and extent of the *jihād* movement. They had by then all the facts about it in their possession and officers like J.O'Kinealy and J.H. Reily, who had been connected with the investigations and trials, had submitted detailed reports to the government about the movement.¹ Other officers also, who were in any way concerned in the matter, submitted their views to the government.² As regards the points of Islamic law on the status of British India the government had not only received the various *fatwās* but also had procured copies of Baillie's article on the subject and had generally come to accept the theory of an implied contract as the basis of the Muslims' loyalty. Moreover, Hunter's connection with the *Englishman* was known in high official circles and it is reasonable to assume that the government therefore already knew what Hunter had to say on the subject. If, on the other hand, it was not known that the *Englishman's* editorials had been written by Hunter, then also there was no reason for the government to ask Hunter to elucidate the points of Islamic law on the matter; for he was otherwise neither specially qualified to do so nor was he in any way concerned in it. And with regard to the Muslims' grievances and education the government had been sufficiently informed by Muslim leaders like 'Abd al-Latīf and officials like E.C. Bayley and had in fact, prior to the publication of the book, formulated their policy (26 June 1871) and adopted a resolution on the subject (7 August).

Secondly, it cannot be argued that the government asked Hunter to write the book by way of providing an explanation for their measures and policies; for the skepticism exhibited earlier by the Anglo-Indian journals about the "conspiracy" to subvert the British rule had been dispelled by the publication of the trial reports and, above all, by O'Kinealy's articles in the *Calcutta*

¹ See *Collection to Judicial Despatches to India and Bengal*, 1872, Vol. 45.

² See *Mayo Papers*, Nos. 2, 29 and 40.

Review. And so far as the resolution on Muslim education was concerned, it was adopted in response to the repeated Muslim representations and prolonged official and non-official enquiries and discussions. At any rate, none at that time questioned the appropriateness of the government resolution on Muslim education.

Thirdly, if for any reason the government had asked Hunter to write the book, it would have found mention in some form or other in the government records or in the private papers of Lord Mayo. It is worth mentioning in this connection that there are numerous references in the records of the time to the assignment of the work of preparing the statistical accounts to Hunter, including the grant of special leave to enable him to accomplish the work.¹ If Hunter had been asked to prepare a work on so important and burning a question as the *jihād* movement and the Muslim feelings in general, it would have been recorded in some of the proceedings in connection with the *mujāhids*. On the other hand, the fact that Hunter had already been employed by government to prepare the statistical accounts militates against their further burdening him with another serious literary work involving no small amount of study and research. Nor is there any reference in the records to the government's having patronized the book in the form of making any bulk purchase of its copies. Every financial transaction of the government was meticulously recorded in the public or financial proceedings; and it is on record that during the financial year 1871-1872 an amount of £ 326-12-3 was paid in England to Messrs Trubner & Co. for books supplied by them to the India government.² Interestingly enough the list of books for which the payment was made³ does not contain *The Indian Musalmans* although two editions of the book were published by that firm during the same period. This is all the more significant in view of the fact that the government, as noted earlier, had obtained copies of Baillie's article on the subject with

¹ See for instance *Public and Ecclesiastical Letters from India*, 1871 (No. 4 of 1871, dated 20 December), Vol. 15, p. 396.

² *Ind. Pub. Prods.*, July 1872, No. 458.

³ *Ibid.*, April 1872, Nos. 514-516.

all eagerness and that this fact is noted in several of the records.

Fourthly, that Hunter's book was not semi- or demi-official in nature is also proved by the fact that his suggestions regarding Muslim education do not correspond with the measures adopted by the government. He suggested that for the education of the "low class" Muslims the existing five miles' rule in the matter of granting aid to schools "should be relaxed so as to allow a State grant to Musalman schools within that distance of existing Hindu schools".¹ For the "fanatical Eastern Districts", however, he thought that the grant-in-aid rules "will not reach a population hereditarily disaffected to our Government, and averse to our system of education." For those areas he suggested the opening of the Hardinge type of model schools which had proved successful in attracting the Hindu population of the South-Western Division to education.² With regard to the middle-class Muslims Hunter recommended J. O'Kinealy's suggestions for appointing Muslim teachers in the District Government schools adding that they "should instruct in the usual branches of education through the Urdu vernacular".³ And for the "Higher-class" Muslims' education he suggested the application of the Mohsin endowment fund for reforming the Calcutta Madrasa for which a "Resident European Principal acquainted with Arabic" should be appointed and its upper Department "would be turned into an Anglo-Arabic one", forming a "well-amalgamated extension of the lower or Anglo-Persian branch".⁴ Now, these were not the reforms envisaged by the resolution of 7 August 1871, nor were they the same as those carried out by the Bengal government resolution of 29 July 1873. The latter did not only not accept the suggestion for establishing the Hardinge type model schools for Eastern Bengal Muslims: it kept the two departments of the Calcutta Madrasa separate and intact and opened three more Madrasas at Dhaka, Chittagong and Rajshahi; and although provision was made for the appointment of Muslim teachers in government district schools, Urdu was not made the medium of instruction for the

¹ *The Indian Musalmans*, first edition, p. 205.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 205-207.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 207.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 208.

Muslim boys, as suggested by Hunter. Moreover, Hunter speaks commendably about Lees' efforts at reform of the Calcutta Madrasa; but this was not the view of the government who thought that Lees was at least partly responsible for the mismanagement of that institution.¹ Thus Hunter did not really represent the official views and policies with regard to Muslim education. In fact his views were a peculiar amalgam of the views derived, as he himself candidly acknowledged, from persons like Mawlawī 'Abd al-Latif, E.C. Bayley, J.O'Kinealy, W.S. Atkinson and W.N. Lees.²

Finally, Hunter himself, presumably in contradiction of the *Spectator's* characterization of the book as a "demi-official pamphlet",³ pointed out in the preface to the second edition that it was not demi-official in nature and that the views expressed by him were independent of the government's.⁴ Nor was it compiled within a period of three weeks. Parts of the book were materials written as early as 1864 and 1869 and its third chapter was written in instalments between March and May 1871 with the assistance of "one of the most distinguished Arabic and Persian scholars in India". At its best the book was just another instance of the many Anglo-Indian writings of the time on issues touching British India. As such, far from setting a new pattern of thought regarding the Muslims or suggesting a new policy about their education, it merely reflected, in its own way, views and suggestions that had for a considerable time been engaging public attention. Truly did the *Friend of India*, while reviewing the book, observe that its main features were "neither new nor

¹ See minute of the Lieutenant Governor (Sir Cecil Beadon) on the reform of the Calcutta Madrasa, 10 April 1867, *Beng. Edn. Prods.*, April 1867, No. 14.

² While borrowing from these persons, however, Hunter mistakes the one for the other and also confounds them. Thus, at page 197 he quotes, in commendation of Lees' efforts at reform, some remarks about the Calcutta Madrasa made by Abd al-Latif (which were in fact made in condemnation of Lees' proposals for transforming the Arabic Department of that institution into an "Arabic College" to which students of the Anglo-Persian Department should pass).— See 'Abd al-Latif, *A Paper on Mahomedan Education in Bengal*, Calcutta, 1868, from which Hunter has taken the quotation without acknowledging it. Then again, on the same page at fn. 2 Hunter says that some of the proposals he was going to make were urged by Lees "many years ago"; Hunter's suggestion to make the Arabic Department a "well-amalgamated extension" of the Anglo-Persian or lower department was not what Lees had suggested; and the other suggestions about Muslim education were not Lees' at all.

³ *The Spectator* (London), 19 August 1871.

⁴ *The Indian Musalmans*, second edition, London, 1872, preface.

unduly startling to people in India."¹

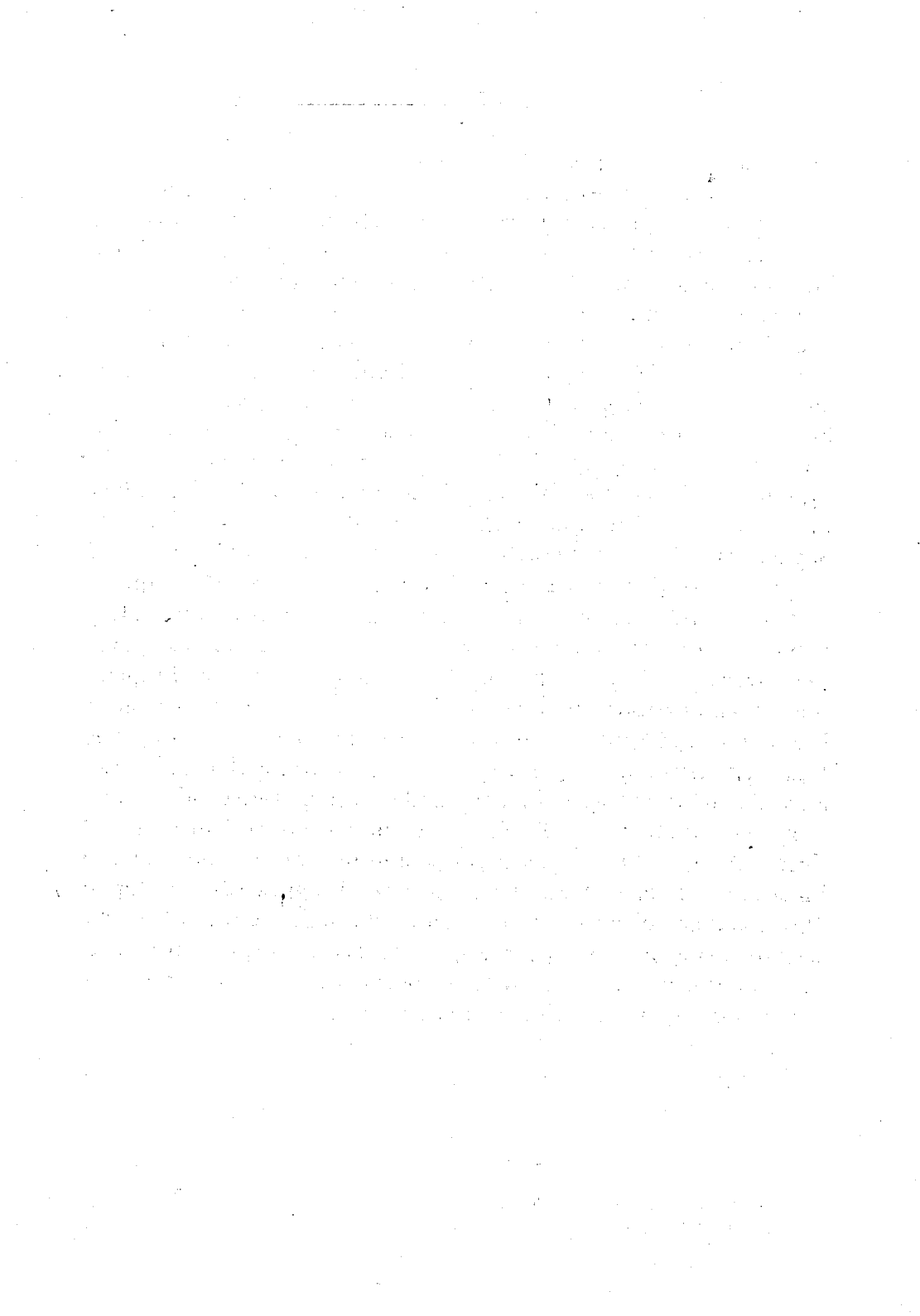
The publication of the book, however, drew public attention in England to the subject in a way which certainly was not anticipated by any one in India. The wildest of speculations about Muslim loyalty and "the fifty years' struggle between our Government and the Wahabees of Bengal" were afloat. The most sensational articles appeared in the *Spectator*, the *Saturday Review* and the *Athenæum*. The *Spectator*, for instance, wrote in one of its articles, under the caption, "The Religious Future of India", that the "Wahabees" were converting the Hindus by thousands to the creed of Islam.² The book received an added significance on account of the assassination of the Acting Chief Justice of the Calcutta High Court, J.P. Norman, on 21 September 1871 and, shortly afterwards, of the Viceroy, Lord Mayo, at Port Blair in the penal settlements of the Andamans. The circumstances in which these assassinations took place naturally gave rise to a strong suspicion, for a time at least, that these were the deeds of the *mujāhid* "conspirators".³ In England these assassinations gave rise to a good deal of passion against Islam and the Muslims. The *Times*, for instance, even asked the Indian government to totally ignore the Muslims and to devote all attention to the Hindus because if the vast majority of subjects remained satisfied with British rule, the empire would be safe.⁴ Gradually, however, the excitement and passions subsided and in India also critical notices of Hunter's book appeared in different Anglo-Indian journals. On the whole the feelings roused by the assassinations and the misleading impressions created, mostly in this context, by Hunter's book, were transitory and did not have any influence on the course of government policy.

¹ *The Friend of India*, 5 October 1871.

² *The Spectator*, London, 19 Aug. 1871.

³ See *supra*.

⁴ *The Times* London, 4 April 1872.



APPENDICES TO PART III

J.H. REILY'S REPORTS ON MALDA, RAJMAHAL AND PATNA INVESTIGATIONS*

* From *Collections to Judicial Despatches to India and Bengal*, 1872, Vol. 45.

APPENDIX I

J.H. REILY'S REPORT ON THE MALDA INVESTIGATIONS DATED 15 NOVEMBER 1870

No. 202Ct., dated Rajmehal, the 15th November 1870.

From

J.H. Reily, Esq., District Superintendent, on special duty,

To

The Inspector-General of Police, Lower Provinces.

With reference to the recent proceedings at Maldah with respect to the Mahomedan fanatics in that district, I have the honor to submit the following remarks and suggestions for your consideration and orders.

2. The so-called Wahabee movement prevails to a great extent in the district of Maldah. It originated with the well-known Velayut Ally of Patna who was a *kalifa* or lieutenant of Sayud Ahmud, and who, from the evidence recorded in the trial of Moulvie Ameerooddin, appears to have visited the district about twenty-five years ago. He appointed as his *kalifa* one Abdool Rohoman, who lived for several years at Sundipa Narainpore, the native village of Moulvie Ameerooddin. This man in a short time acquired so much influence as to induce the *monduls* or headmen of Narainpore and the adjacent villages to build him a *Madrisa*, where he received pupils and taught the young. In every place to which the movement has extended, the education of the young has generally been one of the primary objects of this sect. Like the Jesuits, they are fully alive to the manifest advantages of securing to themselves the training of the rising generation. Ameerooddin himself was a pupil of Moulvie Abdool Rohoman, who is said to have come from Lucknow. He preached the Great Prophet [sic] both in this world and in the next of joining in a *jehad* against unbelievers, and appears to have been the first to organize a *system* in Maldah for the collection of funds for the support of *jehad*. The contributions were collected through the *monduls*; the conversion of a *mondul*, thus, not only was a gain, but also afforded a ready-made establishment for the collection of the contributions. At an early period the most conspicuous amongst the *monduls* appear to have been Ruffeek Mondul of Narainpore, the father of Moulvie Ameerooddin.

3. This man is still living, and was seen during the trial of his son, — a broken down old man upwards of seventy years of age, now in his dotage, but still at times showing the fire and spirit for which he was distinguished in his younger days. He appears to have thrown himself into the movement with all the zeal and enthusiasm of a new convert. He devoted one of his sons (Ameerooddin) to the ministry, or to preaching and making *mooreeds* or disciples; while another (Sookoor Mahomed) was sent to the *jehad* on the Black Mountains. The moulvies of Patna were fully alive to the advantages of securing *indigenous* missionaries or preachers, and so soon as Ameerooddin

was old enough, he succeeded Abdool Rohoman as *kalifa*, or leader of the sect in Maldah.

4. Some stories are told characteristic of the zeal and earnestness for which the now infirm old man Ruffeek Mondul was once distinguished; and as he may be regarded as a representative man of the first converts to the sect in Bengal, I may be permitted to repeat them here. An indigo planter relates how, during the indigo disputes, Ruffeek was foremost in opposing what he regarded as exactions on the part of the planters. He organized a band, formed *jotes* or unions, and raised a fund to defend every suit brought in the courts by the planters. He fought the planters to the last, even to the High Court and the Sudder Board of Revenue in Calcutta, and never yielded until the often-much-abused sections of the rent law relating to measurement and enhancement of rent brought him to the verge of ruin; and even then he would not have yielded had not the river Ganges carried away the entire village of Narainpore!

5. On the occasion of the death of a *mondul*, when hundreds had assembled at his funeral, Ruffeek Mondul suddenly stood on a white-ant mound, and denounced Hyat Mondul as a *kaffir*, and one who should not be permitted to take part in the ceremony. Great was the astonishment of Hyat Mondul, and still greater the confusion in the *mujlis* or assembly; for Hyat Mondul is both rich and influential. Hyat Mondul demanded an explanation, when Ruffeek, still standing on the mound, asked if he did not exact interest for money lent to his co-religionists, contrary to the precepts of the *koran*, and appealed to several of his debtors who were present whether the charge was not true. Hyat Mondul, thus publicly exposed, was forced to acknowledge his sin; and before he was admitted into the society of the sect, he was made to sign an agreement that he would never again be guilty of the sin of usury. No doubt Hyat Mondul was a rival whom Ruffeek wished to humble; but the story illustrates the fanatical — I may say the puritanical character of the man.

6. When the judge of Maldah passed sentence of transportation beyond the seas on his son Ameerooddin, the old man embraced his son, and with the old spirit still warm within him, he cried out — “My son, never forsake *ameen ruffadain*; keep firm to the faith. It is not the *Naṣarah* nor the *Ehudee* (i.e., the Christian or the Jew) who have destroyed you, but the *Hanifee*.” He was reconciled to lose his son if he but remained firm in the new doctrines. The distinguishing signs adopted by the sect are the repetition of the word *ameen* or *amen* aloud during prayers, at the end of every *rakut*, and performing *ruffadain* (or lifting of the hands) several times during prayers; while the orthodox *Hanifees* do so but once at the commencement of each prayer. *Ameen ruffadain* appears now to be the watchwords of the sect, and are as stoutly fought about as any of the distinctions amongst Christians, such as baptism, &c.

7. The zealous exertions of Ruffeek Mondul in collecting money and securing recruits for the *jehad* attracted the attention of Mr. Carnac, magistrate of Moorshedabad, who, fifteen years ago, submitted a report to Government on this fanatical movement of the Mahomedans. A copy of the report I regret I have not been able to obtain. Mr. Herschell, when joint-magistrate of Jungypore, about twelve years ago, arrested Ruffeek Mondul and searched his house and found a great number of letters, which were sent up to the

comissioner of Moorshedabad, but which also I have unfortunately not succeeded in tracing. The loss of these papers is much to be regretted, for no doubt they were important, as they would show who were the moulvies who corresponded with Ruffeek Mondul in those days. Mr. Herschell states that he was quite convinced from the inquiries made at the time "that a conspiracy in furtherance of the *jehad* was being carried on under cover of the hide trade." The offerings of the skins of beasts killed during the *bukreed*, called *koorbani-ka-chamrah*, probably led to the association of hide merchants with this movement, or rather induced proselytes to the new doctrines to trade in hides and in shoes.

8. Maldha, it is well known, was for centuries the metropolitan district of Bengal; the ruins of ancient Gour attest this. That city, according to tradition, was for centuries the capital of Bengal during the Hindoo dynasty, and subsequently the seat of Government of its Mahomedan conquerors, who appear to have ruled there for a long period of time. In those days the confluence of a number of rivers which flowed into the Ganges at Gour made it the natural capital of Bengal. The desertion of the Ganges of its ancient bed and the divergence of the rivers to distant points, it is said, caused a pestilence which led to the desertion of the city. There is no doubt that several influential families who deserted Gaur settled in different parts of the district, especially on the banks of the Ganges, which accounts for so large a number of Mahomedan families being found at Narainpore and the adjacent villages. These families, no doubt, kept up a connection with their brethren in Upper India, which may account for the intercourse which undoubtedly exists between the Mahomedan population of Maldah with that of Behar, especially Patna, and explains in some measures the fact why emissaries from Patna flock to Maldah, and are so heartily entertained, and obtain such implicit credence. It is evident that there has been continued communication with Patna. Moulvies from Sadikpore have regularly visited Narainpore, Hanspokur and Shreshai, to keep up the connection Velayut had established. It is on evidence that Moulvie Inayut Ally, Moulvie Muxood Ally, Moulvie Fyaz Ally, Moulvie Sufder Ally, Mahomed Hossein and others, have repeatedly visited Maldah. The constant flow of *cossids* or messengers, and interchange of letters and visits, have served to strengthen the connection.

9. When I first visited Maldah, I was not aware that Narainpore was the stronghold of the sect, nor that Moulvie Ameerooddin was their noted leader. A reference to my letter No. 319, dated the 2nd November 1868, will show that the first place in the district which drew the attention of the detective department was Kaleachuck, which is the neighbourhood of an indigo factory. The proprietor of the factory, Mr. Gray, heard of their doings, and communicated them to the authorities at Maldah. Eight persons, named in the

- *1. Nasir Sirdar of Kazegram.
2. Ghoorun Khan of Mazum-pore.
3. Abdool Wahid of Lukhi-pore.
4. Jumun Sheik of Ditto.
5. Sukun Moollah of Agamilki.

margin,* were first arrested by the Assistant Superintendent of Police, Baboo Nobokist Ghose. The Magistrate of Maldah examined sixteen witnesses, whose evidence proved that Nasir Sirdar was the leader of the movement in that part of the country; that he had taken an

6. Dhookoo Moolah of ditto.
7. Bannoo Gazee of Mazum-pore.
8. Nowazee Moollah of ditto.

active part for several years in making collections for *jehad*, and in sending men as recruits to join the *jehad* on the north-west frontier.

10. The contributions are — first, *fateah*, [*Fitra*?] a tax for every member of a family in a homestead at the market value of two seers of wheat per head; second, *mootah*, a handful of rice laid by every time rice is cooked in a homestead [the quantity thus accumulated is taken once a week to the *musjid* and made over to the custodian of the mosque]; third, *zakat*, or an income tax of two and half per cent. from all persons engaged in trade or business of any kind;* fourth, *koorbani-ka-chamrah*, or the value of skins of animals sacrificed at the close of the fast.** These contributions were generally believed to belong by right to the maimed and indigent, the blind and the lame; but more recently, especially since the teaching of Moulvie Inayut Ally of Patna, the new sect were taught in Maldah that it is more meritorious to devote these contributions to support the *mojahideens* or crescentaders who were fighting for the *deen* or the faith of Islam; that those of the faithful who were prevented from supporting the *jehad* with their *bodies* should do so with the *substance* God had given them, and they would reap seven hundred-fold in the world to come.

11. This teaching is in fact the basis or foundation on which the movement is built, by giving it permanence and stability; inasmuch as it lays claim to the entire contributions enjoined by the *koran* on all true Mahomedans throughout the world. It explains how such large sums of money have accumulated for the support of the *jehad*, and why Mahomedans so freely contribute to it in preference to bestowing charity on the indigent. With consummate knowledge of the character of the race with whom they have to deal, the moulvies have further ruled that every collector of these contributions is *entitled* to reserve a *fourth* for himself, and that he is at liberty to devote the remainder to any trade, so long as he repays the same with the profits which may accrue from such trade. By this means it will be remarked a ready-made agency is secured for the collection of the fund, and the zeal of the collector is ensured by the strongest of all ties, — that of self-interest.

12. I may here mention that it is a mistake to represent the new sect as unbelievers. They acknowledge the creed of Islam — “that there is only one God, and that Mahomet is the prophet of God.” “This creed”, as remarked by Gibbon, “is compounded of an eternal truth and a necessary fiction.” The Wahabees emphatically believe in the eternal truth, but lay no great stress on the fiction, — at least not to the same degree as the orthodox Mahomedans do. They simply believe that Mahomet was a prophet from God, as Moses was a prophet to the Hebrews; that he was a man, but nothing beyond a man. They believe in the *koran* as containing the will of God revealed through the prophet, but they reject the *hadees* or traditions compiled by Hanifree, Shafee, Malikee, and Humbalee, which have formed as many *mozubs* or sects amongst the Mahomedans.* They do not acknowledge any sects or denominations; they do

* This definition of *zakat* by Reily is not quite correct.

** This is also not quite correct. Animals are sacrificed not at the close of the fast, but at the time of the *Id al-adha*, i.e., on 10, 11 and 12 *Dhu al-Hijja*.—M.M. Ali.

not allow that Mahomet had any spiritual successor. They lay greater stress than other sects of Mahomedans in the precept in the *koran*, "that the means of persuasion had been tried, the season of forbearance was passed, and the religion of Mahomet must be propagated by the sword.* They consider it wrong, — nay, a sin, — to live in a country which is under the rule of the infidel : and hence they are impatient of the British rule, and subscribe freely in support of any attempt to restore this country to Islam rulers. They believe that all such attempts, however impotent they may appear to mortals, are attempts to carry out the will of God, and must eventually be crowned with success by the plenitude [sic — plentitude] of divine power, and that the last of the Imams is about to appear to overthrow the tyranny of *Dejal*.

13. They quote the saying of Mahomet, "that the sword is the key of heaven and hell; a drop of blood shed in the cause of God, a night spent in arms, is of more avail than two months of fasting and prayer. Whosoever falls in battle, his sins are forgiven at the day of judgment; his wounds shall be resplendent as vermillion and oderiferous as musk, and the loss of his limbs shall be supplied by the wings of angels and cherubims." Ask any *jehadee* who has returned from the Black Mountains why he went there, and he will answer, because he was taught that should he return a conqueror he would be a king or prince, and if he fell in battle, he would gain paradise, where, in the words of Gibbon, "seventy-two *houris*, or blackeyed girls of resplendent beauty, blooming youth, virgin purity, will be created for the use of the meanest believer: a moment of pleasure will be prolonged to a thousand years, and his faculties will be increased a hundred-fold, to render him worthy of his felicity."** It is not difficult to imagine the *effect* which such promises have when translated into the vernacular and brought within the comprehension of ignorant Mahomedan youths in the dark and obscure villages of Maldah, where the school-master has never travelled. No wonder if taught to believe such glowing sensual rewards as sober truth, and within their grasp, these uninstructed youths should eagerly embrace the tenets of this sect, and flock, as they did eight years ago, to the mysterious Black Mountains in the hope of finding riches and glory in this world, or sensual happiness such as they could appreciate in paradise.

14. Out of the eight men named in paragraph 9 of this letter, under orders of the Government, dated the 10th November 1868, but Nasir Sirdar, as the leader, was ordered to be detained in confinement, and the rest were released. Of those released, Ghoorun Khan has since died; he was a native of the North-West Provinces, who followed the profession of a wrestler at Maldah, and who never disclosed his birthplace, nor why he had left his own country. It was whispered that he had fled to Maldah after committing some crime, for he had never been to visit his relations for a number of years, and never had any communication with his home. He was the man selected to carry remittances to Islampore and Patna, and was the trusted messenger of the Wahabees of Maldah. This man having no relatives, and being a dangerous and desperate

[* Reily's remarks here are faulty and incorrect. — M.M. Ali]

[** It must be observed that such remarks of Gibbon are saturated with prejudice and "tendential shaping." — M.M. Ali]

character, was a fit medium of communication between the head centres and Maldah.

15. In my report No. 13Ct, dated the 16th of April 1869, I communicated the result of my proceedings against Moulvie Ameerooddin of Sundipa Narainpore. I had discovered that he was at the head of the movement at Maldah, and had the most influence, and so long as he remained at liberty collections for *jehad* would not cease in the districts of Maldah and Rajshahye. A number of witnesses were produced by the Extra Assistant Superintendent of Police, Baboo Nobkisto Ghose, who were examined in the presence of the accused. The Magistrate, Mr. Lewis, recorded:- "That from the evidence adduced before me it is clear that Ameerooddin is, and has been, a most active agent in collecting money for the support of the fanatics at Sittana. This man has for years been busily engaged in collecting and transmitting money, in preaching the advantages of a crusade against the *kaffirs*, and in forwarding, or causing to be forwarded, to the North-West such of the villagers as were foolish enough to believe in the happiness of being killed for the faith. The Extra Assistant Superintendent of Police had more witnesses ready for examination. I declined, however, to examine any more, as this is a mere preliminary inquiry to put Government in possession of evidence to determine whether the defendant should be detained as a State prisoner under the provisions of Regulation III of 1818." Under Government order No. 1793, dated the 22nd of April 1869, Moulvie Ameerooddin was detained as a State prisoner in the Maldah jail.

16. In justice to the prisoner I must state that I find he bore a good moral character; he was the husband of one wife; he never indulged in polygamy though sanctioned by his prophet. His poverty proves without question that he was perfectly upright and honest as regards the sums of money which passed through his hands. He was most zealous in the missionary work to which he had devoted himself; if he had a band of *talabillums*, or students, whom he taught, and who followed him from village to village as he went about preaching in the different mosques scattered over the district. He appears to have led a simple life, never indulging in luxuries or ostentation. He collected the contributions through his *talabillums*, and when the sum amounted to two hundred or four hundred rupees, it is remitted at once to Islampore. In one occasion, when the sum fell short of two hundred rupees by ten rupees, it appears from the evidence of two of the witnesses* that he sent for the three leading men in the village of Kumlabaree and prevailed on them to make up the ten rupees. His heart was evidently in his work, and he laboured incessantly in collecting funds and in inducing men to join the band of fanatics encamped under Moulvie Abdoollah across the Indus, ready on the first opportunity to invade India. It appears that he firmly believed that Sayud Ahmud had not died in the battle of Balacote, but was still alive, and would appear to lead the faithful to victory. It is said that when he preached (*wauz*) in public, on the subject of the hardships which the crescentaders suffered who had fled to the hills for the sake of the *deen* or faith, and urged on the men to assist their (*bhaees*) brethren who were martyrs, it is said "the hearts of his

* Hazaree and Elahi Bux

hearers melted within them, and became like water." He is not a learned moulvie, but knows sufficient Arabic to expound the *koran*, and commanded more influence because he was one of the people, and was understood by them thoroughly. The movemnt in Bengal reminds one of the first crusade as described by Gibbon: "When Peter the Hermit painted the sufferings of the pilgrims of Palestine, every breast was melted to compassion: every breast glowed with indignation. The most perfect orator of Athens might have envied the success of his eloquence; the rustic enthusiast inspired the passions which he felt." In fact, were it not for the fanatical spirit which prevails amongst the sect to extirpate the *kaffir*, and to re-conquer India, there is much in the Wahabees to admire.

17. There is no doubt that about eight years ago Moulvie Ameerooddin, like Peter the Hermit, induced numbers to become crescentaders; this is clear even from the evidence recorded at the trial of Moulvie Ameerooddin. Witness Shahadut of Gopalnugger states that his nephew Kurreem Bux, a lad of sixteen, started for *jehad*; he followed him to the mosque at Islampore and took him back forcibly. Shoofoollah, also of Gopalnuggur, mentions the same story regarding his son Ibrahim, whom he brought back from the same place. Armutoollah of Sharesai describes how, when he was lad, he was fired with enthusiasm after hearing Moulvie Ameerooddin preach, and how he went to Narainpore, ready to start for Malka; how his father, when all other means failed to induce his son to give up his mad desire, sent his intimate friend Deboo, who persuaded him to return. Asloo, of Margow, states that his younger brother, Musloo, had left his home for the *jehad*, and describes how he followed him from village to village, till he found him in Moulvie Ameerooddin's house, and brought him back by force. Manoollah of Laghatta describes how he was persuaded by the preaching of Moulvie Ameerooddin to seriously think of going to the *jehad*, and one day, when he had left home and had hired himself as a reaper, and was cutting dhan, one Meajan Rohoman and two others passed that way; and on his finding they were on their way to the *jehad*, having come all the way from Dacca, he left everything and followed them, fearing to return to his home, lest he should be persuaded not to go. Golam Akbur of Sudasipore describes, after hearing Moulvie Ameerooddin, how one day, when he was working in his field, three men, Hajee Golam, Elahie Bux, and Soojaooddin, were passing, and after some conversation with them, finding they were on the road to *jehad*, he left everything and joined them. Mahomed Hossein of Baboopore states:— "One day, as I was reading with two other students in the house of one Fazlee Ahmud, in Margow, a stranger from the west country came up and said, "What are you doing here?" I answered, "I am reading". He said "You better go to the west, the Imam has appeared, and it is meritorious to go there." I said, "Who will provide the means." He said, "Where is your house?" I answered, "near Narainpore." He said, "Go there, and Moulvie Ameerooddin will pay your expenses." On this he and the two students went away at once to Narainpore, and eventually started for the *jehad*, where he remained for nearly three years.

18. These instances were elicited from the witnesses during the trial, but there are numerous instances which prove that about eight or nine years ago

there was a great rush of crescentaders to the *jehad*. The Mahomedan population throughout Bengal were excited by preachers to flock secretly to Patna, and were there instructed to proceed by *kafilas* of six or seven to Rawul Pindee, Attock, and Peshawur, to join the crescentaders who were at Malka and Sittana. It has been clearly established that there were regular agencies to aid the crescentaders on their journey at Patna, Benares, Cawnpore, Delhi, Thanessur, Umballa, Umritsur, Jhelum, Rawul Pindee, Attock, and Peshawur. It cannot be said that all were prompted by the spirit of enthusiasm. There were some amongst them who left their homes because they had met with misfortunes; some had lost their parents, some their wives, and had no ties to bind them to their homes. One of them, Mortoza, left because he was one of eight sons, his mother had died, and his father had married two wives, and his step-mothers were unkind to him. It is hardly credible that such numbers of men should leave their native villages with the express intention of fighting against the present rulers of the country, and the Government should have been kept ignorant of the magnitude of the movement. It is proved that at one time the moulvies at Malka and Sittana had *eight or nine thousand armed men* under them. Very few of these men returned. Some were killed in fights, but the majority perished by disease and exposure to the severe winter of the Black Mountains, which Bengalees are not able to endure. The road to Malka and Sittana is described by those who have returned as *densely covered with a countless number of graves*.

19. There are some Mahomedans in the district who have resisted the movement; the most conspicuous amongst them is Adalut Mondul of Kallinuggur. This man is a strict orthodox Mahomedan of the old school; he performs *sirnee*; places lights in the tombs of the dead; has drums and music at weddings; and delights in *tajeahs*. Habilas Mondul, who is a follower of the new sect, converted Adalut Mondul's son to the new doctrines, and induced him to subscribe one rupee towards the *jehad*. Great was the anger of the old man when he discovered what his son had done. "If Habilas Mondul has succeeded in enticing away my son, what is to prevent him from enticing away my wife or my daughters?" He forthwith went before the Magistrate of Maldah, and charged Habilas with collecting money for seditious purposes. He produced witnesses to prove the charge, and never rested satisfied till he had Habilas in jail. He tied his son to a tree and chastised him, to drive the devil (*shaitan*) out of him. Adalut Mondul was cited as a witness at the trial, and it was amusing to hear the stern old man describe how Habilas Mondul went to his house to tempt him to forsake his old orthodox customs; how he offered to make him a *sirdar* of fifteen villages if he would but join the sect and realize the contributions. "I told him that my father, and his father before him, offered *sirnee*, and I will do the same." He also described how Ameerooddin also tempted him about five years ago. "Be a *sirdar*, and you may keep all the money that is subscribed until it is required to be sent to the west; only be my *mooreed*" [;] I said to him, "I will not be your *mooreed*, nor will I be a *sirdar*." Moulvie Abbas Ally was formerly a Wahabee, but, having seen the leather figures exposed by Zinoool Abdeen, has been cured of his heresy. This man repeated in open court, before a crowd of Mahomedans who had assembled to

attend the trial of Moulvie Ameerooddin, what he had seen on that occasion. Moulvie Inayut Ally, he said, was at that time the leader of the crescentaders at Kagan. Zinoool Abdeen, who had known Sayud Ahmud personally, wished to see him on hearing that he had appeared and was living in a neighbouring hill, and asked Inayut Ally to procure him an interview. Inayut Ally said, "Not now; when it is the will of God he will meet you." But Zinoool Abdeen would not listen. He went to the hill and called out in a loud voice "*Salam Sayud Saheb*," but received no answer. He attempted to enter the cave, when the guard placed there by Moulvie Inayut Ally attempted to hinder him. Zinoool Abdeen drew his sword and said, "Am I a slave to be stopped in this manner?" He entered the cave, and saw three figures in a sitting posture. He attempted to shake hands, when he found they were figures stuffed with bran. He forthwith took them with him and threw them before the *lushkur* or army, and exposed the cheat. "Inayut Ally is an idolator," he said; "he makes images, and those who remain with him are *kaffirs*. No Imam has appeared; it is all a deception." Inayut Ally replied that "Zinoool Abdeen is rejected of God, because he had disobeyed his order, and therefore Sayud Ahmud had performed a miracle, and had changed himself and his two followers into stuffed figures." But the people could not be any longer deceived; the *lushkur* broke up. Abbas Ally and Shah Tofeloollah of Baraghurea have opposed the movement for some years, and have made several converts; but I believe I am not wrong when I state that about three-fourths of the Mahomedans in the district of Maldah belong to the new sect.

20. The evidence recorded at Maldah shows that Mahomedan youths leave their homes and travel long distances to learn Persian and Arabic; for instance, Douron of Kazeegaw went to read with Moulvie Ameerooddin at Narainpore, and so did Hazaree of Mondai, Khoda Bux of Ghorapakia, Abdool Sobhan of Rajshahye, and several others whom I need not name. Mahomed Hossein went to the village of Margow, in zillah Beerbhoom, to read with a celebrated moulvie in those parts, where we find he had two other fellow students, Elahie Bux went year after year to the district of Nuddea to read with a moulvie who received poor students and fed them as well as taught them. Many young men, I find, hire themselves out as school-masters for three or four rupees a month during the rainy season, that they may earn sufficient to enable them to study during the cold season with some well-known moulvie. These facts, and numerous others which have come to my knowledge, show that the want of Persian and Arabic schools is much felt in Mahomedan districts. This is an important subject, which calls for serious consideration. If these youths could obtain the education they need in their *native* districts, they would not attach themselves, as they now do, to moulvies who too often teach them disloyalty to the present rulers of the country. Were the Mahomedan children taught the elements of history and geography through the medium of the Persian and Arabic languages, they would not be so liable as they are now to be deceived by designing emissaries from Patna and Delhi. It would be a wise measure to establish elementary schools for teaching Persian and Arabic wherever there are communities of Mahomedans. The old system of *kazees* may be revived by granting them *sunnuds* of appointment from Government

officers, and assigning them defined jurisdictions, within which they should officiate at marriages and funerals, and keep registers of births, deaths, and marriages, and also act as school-masters. The Mahomedans would gladly pay a small fee on marriages, which would perhaps be sufficient for the support of these *kazees*. I have long felt that some arrangement of this kind would prevent a great deal of dissatisfaction that now unfortunately exists amongst the Mahomedans.

21. Ameeroodin, as I have already reported, has been convicted		before the Sessions Court of Maldah of being a	
Monthly pay		member of a conspiracy to wage war with the	
Head constables	Rs. 30	Queen, and of having aided and abetted, by the	
1st ditto	„ 10	commission of overt acts, such as preaching	
2nd ditto	„ 9	sedition, collecting money, and forwarding re-	
3rd ditto	„ 8	cruits to the <i>jehad</i> in furtherance of the conspira-	
4th ditto	„ 7	cy; but it is clear that unless some preventive	
Total	Rs. 64	measures are adopted by the Government, a new	

leader will be appointed, and there will be a repetition of the same acts. The great object is to prevent the remittance of money and forwarding recruits to the north-west frontier. I would suggest that four men, *natives of the district*, who have assisted me in these inquiries, should be selected and appointed constables, at salaries stated in the margin, and placed under the orders of a head constable, whose sole duty it will be to watch the movements of the sect, report the arrival of emissaries, and furnish weekly reports to the Magistrate of the district, sending copies of the same to me so long as I am retained on this special duty. An establishment such as I have suggested appears to me necessary for the next three years. It will be difficult to quarter police on the disaffected villages, for every man in them will contend he is not a member of the new sect, and it will be an endless task to decide who are, and who are not Wahabees; not to mention the impolicy of entrusting any such power to the police. I have thought over the matter, and a special establishment appears to me the only feasible plan. I would also urge the extension of the New Chowkeedaree Act to Maldah. If properly trained, the chowkeedars should in time furnish the necessary information. It is in districts like Maldah and Backergunge, where the Mahomedan ryots are *rich*, that they find time to indulge in fanaticism. In Backergunge not only is the rice crop productive, but the cocoanut and betelnut add to the wealth of the ryots; so in Maldah the *silk* yeilds a large profit; and it is in these two districts, and in others *similarly* productive, that the Mahomedans, it will be found, are included, [inclined?] to disaffection. It is in these districts that home [sic] kind of police appears necessary to watch any changes which assume a *political* aspect. The police, however, can do but little: there must be a radical change in the feelings of the Mahomedans. The education of the *lower* classes appears the only *safe* preventive measure the Government can adopt; there is no doubt that ignorance is the chief cause of credulity. When we think of the numbers killed in battle at Kagan and the Black Mountains, and the countless number of graves of those who have perished about Malka and Sittana, one is tempted to use the words of the Hebrew prophet and say — “The people are destroyed for lack of

knowledge." A serious responsibility rests on the Government to attempt the education of the Mahomedan population in the village through the medium of the Arabic language, for they appear to have a strong prejudice against learning the language of the idolatrous Hindoo, and that of the *kaffir English*.

22. The persons named in the margin* are now in jail at Maldah as State Prisoners. The first, Nasir Sirdar, is a man of influence and a pure

- *1. Nasir Sirdar.
- 2. Habilas Mondul.
- 3. Amanath Mondul.

fanatic. I would suggest that he may be brought to trial, for I am convinced that while he lives he will continue to plot against the Government. Habilas Mondul and Amanuth Mondul are subordinate agents of Moulvie Ameerooddin, and I think may be released after being warned by the Magistrate of the district; but not until the sentence passed by the sessions court of Maldah on their chief, Moulvie Ameerooddin, has been confirmed by the High Court.

23. Baboo Nobokisto Ghose has done good service. I may safely appeal to Mr. O'Kinealy to testify to all he has done. I beg to recommend that he may be restored to the appointment of assistant superintendent of police with the gradual increase of Rs. 20 every year, as has been sanctioned by His Honor the Lieutenant-Governor. An officer cannot be expected to work with zeal unless he receives some reward to encourage him. The head constables attached to the late detective department, who

- *1. Madub Roy.
- 2. Dinnoo Sing.
- 3. Munna Khan.
- 4. Kunjoo Hazrah.
- 5. Chowdry Sheik.
- 6. Azar Ally.
- 7. Tarrachand.

I have named in the margin,* have worked with great zeal, and under circumstances of difficulty have proved themselves honest and trustworthy. I beg to recommend that they may each receive a reward of Rs. 50. I take this opportunity of bringing to your notice that I am working at a great disadvantage, for Nobokisto Ghose and the

head constables are no longer under me, but have been posted to different districts, and they are only anxious to join their substantive appointments to escape being so constantly sent from district to district.

24. The men named in the margin,* belonging to the police of Mal-

- *1. Elahee Bux, inspector.
- 2. Birjo Lall, sub-inspector of Kulleachuck.
- 3. Paran Ghose, constable.
- 4. Praim Chand, ditto.

dah, have afforded me every assistance. The first, Elahee Bux is a Mahomedan, and there is no doubt that some years ago he was present at a meeting of moulvies in which *jehad* was a subject of discussion; but I can testify that since he has been employed by me in these inquiries he has behaved honestly, and has afforded me every assistance. I think his present services should condone any past misconduct. The sub-inspector of Kulleachuck has been of the greatest use to me in these inquiries. A reference to my report No. 319, dated the 2nd of November 1868, paragraph 6, will show the aid he rendered when I first went to Maldah; he has assisted me ever since, and I would suggest his promotion to a higher grade. The two constables did very good service, and are also deserving of promotion.

25. The men at Maldah* who have assisted us throughout, and have

*1. Shah Toofailoolah	Rs. 200
2. Moulvie Abbas Ally	„ 200
3. Mahomed Hosein	„ 100
4. Golam Akbar	„ 50
5. Mortoza	„ 50
6. Sabuktoollah	„ 25
7. Baboo	„ 25
8. Manoollah	„ 25
9. Elahee Bux	„ 25
10. Hazaree	„ 50
Total	Rs. 750

stood by the Government, and who have suffered persecution and contumely for so doing, are deserving of some recognition of their conduct. I would submit earnestly that the persons named in the margin may receive the money rewards mentioned opposite their names. The total sum amounts to only Rs. 750; but the *effect* will be important, especially should any further inquiries be necessary at any future time, and also in enabling the police to obtain information respecting the movements of the sect.

26. I beg to submit three statements as an appendix to this report. Statement A contains the names of persons who have assisted the Government officers in these inquiries; they should be treated with some favour and consideration by the authorities in the district. Statement B contains the names of the principal villages in which the sect predominates. In introducing the Chowkeedary Act in Maldah, it appears to me that special care should be taken in the selection of the chowkeedars who may be appointed to these villages. There is a cluster of villages (the first eight in the list) adjoining Sundeepa Narainpore which are *entirely* inhabited by this sect. There is no police station within a distance of several miles, which may account for the police being so long ignorant of the seditious acts of the inhabitants of these villages. I am aware that the late Magistrate of Maldah, Mr. Lowis, intended to recommend that a police outpost should be placed in the neighbourhood of Sundeepa Narainpore. I beg to suggest that this measure may be carried out as early as practicable. Statement C contains the names of such members of the sect as came under my observation during the enquiries at Maldah. I suggest that the list may be circulated to all police officers in the district to have the men named therein under surveillance. This should be done chiefly through the cow-keedars.

27. In conclusion, I beg to bring to your notice that I received every assistance from Mr. N. Alexander, the Magistrate, and Mr. W. Campbell, the District Superintendent of Police. No officer could have assisted me and my subordinates more heartily and readily than Mr. Campbell.

A.

STATEMENT SHEWING THE NAMES OF THE PERSONS WHO HAVE RENDERED
SPECIAL ASSISTANCE IN THE RECENT INQUIRIES AT MALDA.

Names of persons.	Place of residence.	Police station.	District.
Shah Tofailoollah	Baroghooreah	Shibgunge	Maldah.
Moulvie Abbas Ally	Mahmudpore	Jhenida	Jessore.
Mohomed Hossein	Baboopore	Nowabgunge	Maldah.
Golam Akbar	Panka	Ditto	Ditto.
Mortozah	Shampore	Shibgunge	Ditto.
Sabuktoollah	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto
Baboo	Laghatta	Ditto	Ditto.
Manoollah	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto
Elahee Bux	Kumlabaree	Bholahat	Ditto.
Hazaree	Mondai	Kaleachuck	Ditto.
Kazee Morad	Chuck Hurripore	Comercoolly	Pubna.
Adalut Mondul	Bhagjan	Kaleadchuck	Malda.
Etbaree Biswas	Kanshat	Shibgunge	Ditto.
Asmutoollah	Agamilki	Kaleachuck	Ditto.
Ameerooddin	Kaleachuck	Ditto	Ditto
Rujub Ally	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto.

J.H. REILY
District Superintendent.

B

STATEMENT OF WAHABEE VILLAGES IN THE DISTRICT OF MALDAH.*

Names of Villages.	Police Station.	District.
Sundeepta Narainpore	Nowabgunge	Maldah
Panka	Ditto	Ditto.
Gopalnuggur	Ditto	Ditto.
Baboopore	Ditto	Ditto.
Tokna	Ditto	Ditto.
Kaleenuggur	Ditto	Ditto.
Lumput Narainpore	Ditto	Ditto.
Dakaitparrah	Ditto	Ditto.
Khurkoshah	Ditto	Ditto.
Narainpore Soyrushea	Ditto	Ditto.
Hanshpookur	Bholahat	Ditto.
Panch Tikree	Ditto	Ditto.
Musreebhooja	Ditto	Ditto.
Foolbaree	Ditto	Ditto.
Judoopre	Ditto	Ditto.
Collectory	Ditto	Ditto.
Kumlabaree	Ditto	Ditto.
Bissessurpore	Ditto	Ditto.
Khurukpore	Ditto	Ditto.
Mondai	Kaleachuck	Ditto.
Bhogowanpore	Ditto	Ditto.
Sardoho	Ditto	Ditto.
Kumat	Ditto	Ditto.
Beleadanga	Ditto	Ditto.
Allipore	Ditto	Ditto.
Runoochuk	Ditto	Ditto.
Agamilkee	Ditto	Ditto.

* In the original records the names in the statements B and C are written also in Bengali alongside the English. These Bengali duplications are not reproduced here. — M.A. Ali.

Names of Villages.	Police Station.	District.
Shareshahie	Ditto	Ditto.
Lakhipor	Ditto	Ditto.
Muzumpore	Kaleachuck	Maldah
Dureapore	Ditto	Ditto.
Shelampore	Ditto	Ditto.
Bhagjan	Ditto	Ditto.
Kaleenuggur	Ditto	Ditto.
Monohurpore	Ditto	Ditto.
Shushanee	Ditto	Ditto.
Bhandar	Shibgunge	Ditto.
Nundunpore	Ditto	Ditto.
Binudpore	Ditto	Ditto.
Juhoorpore	Ditto	Ditto.
Laghatta	Ditto	Ditto.
Shampore	Ditto	Ditto.
Muhudeepore	Ditto	Ditto.
Ghorapakeah	Ditto	Ditto.
Kumlakantpore	Ditto	Ditto.
Tikree	Ditto	Ditto.
Mobarukpore	Ditto	Ditto.
Dulealpore	Ditto	Ditto.
Ghuch Bohurum	Ditto	Ditto.
Allynuggur	Gomastapore	Ditto.

J.H. REILY,
District Superintendent.

C

STATEMENT SHEWING THE NAMES OF PRINCIPAL WAHÁBEES
IN THE DISTRICT OF MALDAH.

Names of Persons.	Place of residence.	Police station.	District.
Ruffeek Mondul	Narainpore	Nawabgunge	Maldah.
Moonshee Inayutoollah	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto.
Bogdad Mondul	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto.
Koodrutoollah	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto.
Ghunshee	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto.
Nazir	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto.
Nuffur Manjee	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto.
Ellahie Bux	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto.
Deedar Mondul	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto.
Sheraj Mollah	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto.
Jeetun Majee	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto.
Hafeezoollah Gazee	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto.
Shookoordee Gazee	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto.
Bakee Mollah	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto.
Khoda Bux Mondul	Ditto Dakaitparah	Ditto	Ditto.
Khuleel Mondul	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto.
Sahush Mondul	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto.
Kummerooddin	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto.
Sumeerooddin	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto.
Ismail	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto.
Ear Mohomud	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto.
Tureekoollah	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto.
Ibrahim	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto.
Toyab Manjee	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto.

Names of Persons.	Place of residence.	Police Station.	District.
Asmutoollah	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto.
Moulvie Ashirooddin	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto.
Dokhul Gazee	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto.
Shadee	Tokha Narainpore	Nowabgunge	Maldah.
Inayutoollah	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto.
Fukeer Mohomed	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto.
Azeem Biswas	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto.
Piroo	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto.
Shahush Manjee	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto.
Toofanee	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto.
Atabooddin	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto.
Bhodai Manjee	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto.
Joleel Mondul	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto.
Muteeoollah Moonshee	Narainpore	Ditto	Ditto.
Shadee	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto.
Luteef Mondul	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto.
Sheik Gureeboollah	Kumlabaree	Bholahat	Ditto.
Kaloo	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto.
Assalut	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto.
Ellahie Bux	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto.
Tooran Manjee	Hanshpookur	Ditto	Ditto.
Muteeoollah	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto.
Assalut Mollah	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto.
Sookoordee	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto.
Rumzanee	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto.
Amanut Mondul	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto.
Alum Duffadar	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto.

Names of Persons.	Place of residence.	Police Station.	District.
Hakeem Mondul	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto.
Chata Nowabdee	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto.
Meeanjan	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto.
Allecem Gazee	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto.
Ilamdee	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto.
Mohamdee	Hanshpookur	Bholahath	Maldah.
Dookhoo	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto.
Nazeer	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto.
Shoyfoollah Mondul	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto.
Koodrutoollah Gazee	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto.
Inayutoollah	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto.
Mashoom	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto.
Shahabaz	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto.
Mokareem	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto.
Kismutoollah	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto.
Shurfutoollah Mondul	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto.
Nowabdee	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto.
Mussioollah	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto.
Hazaree	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto.
Muteeoollah	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto.
Ibrahim Fukeer	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto.
Koodrutoollah Mondul	Kumlabareg	Ditto	Ditto.
Golamally Mondul	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto.
Futtoo	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto.
Kuleem Mondul	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto.
Sharekutoollah Mondul	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto.
Ibrahim Mondul	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto.

Names of Persons.	Place of residence.	Police Station.	District.
Jumeerooddin Mondul	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto.
Zuhirooddin	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto.
Chota Ellahie Bux	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto.
Koodrutoollah Gazee	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto.
Hakeem	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto.
Durgahee Biswas	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto.
Danee Mondul	Panch Tikree	Bholahath	Maldah.
Bankee Mondul	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto.
Goolzar	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto.
Adalut Gazee	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto.
Rumzanee	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto.
Rustum Alli	Collectory	Ditto	Ditto.
Ellahie Bux	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto.
Goolzar	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto.
Inayutoollah	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto.
Kaloo Mollah	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto.
Ameen Mollah	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto.
Shoozal Mondul	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto.
Lohai Mollah	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto.
Sukoo	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto.
Salim Mondul	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto.
Fyzoo	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto.
Salim, Tuhsildar	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto.
Shaifoollah Mondul, Tuhsildar	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto.
Amanut Mondul	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto.
Mashoom	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto.
Shumsuddin	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto.

Names of Persons.	Place of residence.	Police Station.	District.
Shumshareooddin Gazee	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto.
Meazan Rungee	Foolbaree	Ditto	Ditto.
Kameerooddin Gazee	Panka Gopalnuggur	Nowabgunge	Ditto.
Inayutoollah Gazee	Tokna Narayanpor	Ditto	Ditto.
Besharut Gazee	Kaleenuggur	Ditto	Ditto.
Ameer Gazee	Lumput Narainpore	Nowabgunge	Maldah.
Isuf Gazee	Mukarimpore	Gomastapore	Ditto.
Lohai Kubiraj	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto.
Sookurdee Mollah	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto.
Bhikun Mollah	Laghatta	Shibgunge	Ditto.
Aboo Mondul	Bimursho	Ditto	Ditto.
Shafat Mondul	Bhandar	Ditto	Ditto.
Sherazuddin Mollah	Zuhoorpore	Ditto	Ditto.
Hazee Shuriatoollah	Bagbaree	Ditto	Ditto.
Sumeer Mondul	Tikree	Ditto	Ditto.
Deanutoollah	Mobarukpore	Ditto	Ditto.
Gazee Mollah	Dalealpore	Ditto	Ditto.
Oojhan Mondul	Chuck Bohorun	Ditto	Ditto.
Panchoo Mondul	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto.
Shookoorddee Mondul	Bangabaree	Maldah	Ditto.
Goomanee Mondul	Bodhia	Ditto	Ditto.
Ally Mahomed	Rishipore	Ditto	Ditto.
Durbaree Mondul	Behollah	Ditto	Ditto.
Shaleem Mollah	Mondai	Kaleachuck	Ditto.
Emarut Mondul	Bhugowanpore Nijtollah	Ditto	Ditto.
Shebuktoollah Mondul	Shardoho	Ditto	Ditto.
Habilash Mondul	Kamat	Ditto	Ditto.

Names of Persons.	Place of residence.	Police station.	District.
Panchoo Mondul	Mondai	Ditto	Ditto.
Haji Sirdar	Balehdanga	Ditto	Ditto.
Kureem Mondul	Baleadangah	Kaleachuck	Maldah.
Alum Mondul	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto.
Chota Kamal Mondul	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto.
Inayut Khan	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto.
Hossein Mondul	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto.
Shureep Momin	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto.
Kasem Mondul	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto.
Deedar Moonshee	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto.
Shummun Sirdar	Alipore	Ditto	Ditto.
Showdagur Kubiraj	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto.
Naloo Sirdar	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto.
Baboo Sirdar	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto.
Nassir Sirdar	Shareshahie	Ditto	Ditto.
Abdool Oahid	Agamilki	Ditto	Ditto.
Jumun Mollah	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto.
Shookhun Mollah	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto.
Dookha Mollah	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto.
Oomed Moonshee	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto.
Jumun Mondul	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto.
Shudroo Mondul	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto.
Misoo Momin	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto.
Abdool Zuleel	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto.
Woozir Momin	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto.
Toyib Mondul	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto.
Diloo Sheik	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto.

Names of Persons.	Place of residence.	Police station.	District.
Oozir Mohajun	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto.
Hajut Mollah	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto.
Mongul Sheik	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto.
Shahaban Sheik	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto.
Muteeoollah Moonshee	Agamilki	Kaleachuck	Maldah.
Kabil Mondul	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto.
Fukeer Mahomed	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto.
Dookhoo Mollah	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto.
Shahaboo Domun	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto.
Allabuddy Sheik	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto.
Hybutoollah Mollah Gazee	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto.
Kohumdee Sheik	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto.
Shebuktoollah Sheik	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto.
Etbaree Sheik	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto.
Zuhuruddy Sheik	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto.
Foollah Sheik	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto.
Panchoo Sheik	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto.
Durbestoollah Sheik	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto.
Dhunnoo Mollah	Alipore	Ditto	Ditto.
Jahid Mollah	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto.
Golamee Mollah	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto.
Panchoo Sheik	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto.
Ala Bux Mollah	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto.
Boodhoo Sheik	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto.
Shuhubut Kubiraj	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto.
Hasem Mollah	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto.
Bhudoo Mollah	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto.

Names of Persons.	Place of residence.	Police station.	District.
Sumroo Momin	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto.
Gazee Momin	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto.
Durbaree Momin	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto.
Mola Bux Moonshee	Runochuck	Ditto	Ditto.
Shubuktoollah Sirdar	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto.
Natoo Momin	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto.
Rohim Bux Momin	Runoochuck	Kaleachuck	Maldah.
Habloo Momin	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto.
Lutif Momin	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto.
Benundee Peada	Mozumpore	Ditto	Ditto.
Banoo Sheik	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto.
Moonee Sheik	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto.
Danoo Manjee	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto.
Amroo Khan	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto.
Nassirooddin Sheik	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto.
Shubuktoolloh	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto.
Reshum Khan	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto.
Bhikoo Hajee	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto.
Nowajee Sheik	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto.
Johury Duffadar	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto.
Sheik Nussirooddin	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto.
Baboo Sheik	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto.
Olee Sheik	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto.
Jammoo Sheik	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto.
Shumroo Sheik	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto.
Junjalee Momin	Dureapore	Ditto	Ditto.
Bedeshee Mollah	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto.

Names of Persons.	Place of residence.	Police station.	District.
Nowabdee Momin	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto.
Bhasaa Momin	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto.
Durbaree Sirdar	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto.
Mollah Bux	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto.
Murkut Mahajun	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto.
Kaloo Momin	Bhaugulpore	Ditto	Ditto.
Mashoo Momin	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto.
Kinoo Momin	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto.
Dhunoo Momin	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto.
Kebla Momin	Bhaugulpore	Kaleachuck	Maldah.
Monee Mohuldar	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto.
Jungoo Mollah	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto.
Bakur Moonshee	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto.
Loha Momin	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto.
Dhaotal Mohuldar	Shalempore	Ditto	Ditto.
Shubloo Mohuldar	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto.
Delbur Mohuldar	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto.
Meghoo Mohuldar	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto.
Khosal Mondul	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto.
Mussul Sirdar	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto.
Goomanee Mohuldar	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto.
Khairoo Paikur	Kalinuggur	Ditto	Ditto.
Hemait Mondul	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto.
Habilash Mondul	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto.
Shahabuddy Mondul	Shardoho	Ditto	Ditto.
Shabuk Mondul	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto.
Kobir Mondul	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto.

Names of Persons.	Place of residence.	Police station.	District.
Toolee Mondul	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto.
Inayutoollah Mondul	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto.
Rohumut Mondul	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto.
Rohumdee Mondul	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto.
Kishmut Mohajun	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto.
Lobree Mondul	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto.
Bahadoor Manjee	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto.
Shohubut Mondul	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto.
Bohal Moonshee	Mondai	Ditto	Ditto.
Furing Mondul	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto.
Namdar Mondul	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto.
Ashalut Mondul	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto.
Shohobut Mondul	Mondai	Kaleachuk	Maldah.
Shoojal Mondul	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto.
Meajan Mondul	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto.
Oomaid Mondul	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto.
Showdagur Mondul	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto.
Atabooddin Gazee	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto.
Barun Gazee	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto.
Salem Moonshee	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto.
Besharut Mondul	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto.
Kootub Mondul	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto.
Nojeeboollah Mondul	Monohurpore	Ditto	Ditto.
Ellahie Moonshee	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto.
Punjoo Mondul	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto.
Shehurdee Moonshee	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto.

J.H. REILY,
District Superintendent.

APPENDIX II

J.H. REILY'S REPORT ON THE INVESTIGATIONS AT RAJMAHAL, DATED 24 NOVEMBER 1871.

From J.H. Reily, Esq., on special duty, to the Secretary of the Govt. of Bengal.
(No. 105, dated Calcutta, the 24th November 1871)

SRI, [Sic]

I HAVE the honor to submit a report of the proceedings connected with the Mahomedan fanatics in the district of Rajmehal included within the Sonthal Pergunnahs..

2. A reference to my letter No. 319, dated the 2nd November 1868, addressed to the Inspector-General of Police, will show how the attention of the Detective Department was turned to the Sonthal Pergunnahs, and to Ibrahim Mundul of Islampore. While inquiring into the conduct of Nasir Sirdar of Kallea Chuck in the district of Maldah, it was ascertained that sums of money collected from the Mahomedan population on account of *jehad*, and for the support of the fanatics encamped trans-Indus, from the districts of Maldah, Rajshahye, Bograh, Rungpore, and Dinagepore, were sent to Ibrahim Mundul at Islampore. A warrant was accordingly applied for and obtained from the Magistrate of Maldah for his arrest.

3. I proceeded to Rajmehal to execute the warrant, but found Islampore was so situated, that I could not possibly approach it without attracting notice; and as I knew that Ibrahim Mundul had already taken alarm from my proceedings at Maldah, I was apprehensive that any attempt on my part to approach the village would be the signal for his absconding. I directed the Extra Assistant Superintendent of Police, Baboo Nobokristo Ghose, to proceed to the village in disguise and arrest him. This duty was performed by the Extra Assistant with his usual skill. He dressed himself as a Mahomedan moulvie and left the East Indian Railway station at Behawah and reached Islampore just about sunset. It was market-day, and most of the inhabitants had gone to the *haut*, or market, in the adjoining village of Maharajpore. One of the first persons the Extra Assistant met was a nephew of Ibrahim Mundul, with whom he entered into conversation without knowing who he was. He passed himself off as a teacher who was anxious to secure pupils. The object of the Extra-Assistant was to find out the house of Ibrahim Mundul. After some conversation the lad offered to take the pretended moulvie to his uncle, Ibrahim Mundul. The Extra Assistant went to the house and arrested Ibrahim Mundul with the aid of two constables, who had followed him at some distance, dressed in plain clothes. He was taken at once out of the village before hardly anyone in it knew that their leader had been arrested. It was ascertained afterwards that Ibrahim Mundul had made every preparation to decamp by rail. I went to Rajmehal and produced a number of witnesses, who were examined before Mr. Wilmot, the Assistant Commissioner of Rajmehal.

4. The evidence was conclusive. It established that Ibrahim Mundul was the head centre of the movement in that part of the country; that collections for

jehad were paid to him; that he preached a religious war against the English; that he himself collected money for this purpose; that he exercised some degree of pressure by putting out of caste those who refused to subscribe: in fact, were it not for the pains and the penalties attached to the fiat of excommunication, or putting out of caste, by leaders like Ibrahim Mundul, the movement would die out. It appeared to me for this reason that the *sirdars* or leaders were justly liable to punishment and measures should be taken against them *only*. What can be expected from an ignorant ryot when his *moollah*, or priest, preaches *deen* and *jehad*, and threatens excommunication if he refuses to suscribe?

5. The movement, so far as I could discover at that time, did not include any influential *zemindar* or landholder, but was kept up by men like Nasir Sirdar and Ibrahim Mundul, who exercised a local influence by having been appointed *kalifa* by the moulvies of Patna. One of the chief inducements held out to a Mahomedan ryot for subscribing to the *jehad* (independent of the reward hereafter) is the privilege of holding his lands free of rent on the restoration of the rule of Islam. It is not likely that a *zemindar* or landholder would support such a movement. The only *zemindars* who appear to have helped in the movement are one or two opulent and bigoted men, such as Nabob Jan of Behar, who has extensive property in the neighbourhood, and Baboo Chowdry of Bagdangah, who owns valuable property in Maldah and Moorshedabad.

6. Copies of the evidence recorded before the Assistant Commissioner of Rajmehal were sent to Government, and orders were received through the Inspector-General of Police by letter No. 6059, dated the 10th November 1868, stating that warrants for the detention of Ibrahim Mundul and Nasir Sirdar under regulation III of 1818 had been addressed to the officers in charge of the jails of Maldah and Rajmehal, and directing that "Mr. Reily will not relax in his endeavours to ascertain the full extent of the present movement to the various districts of Bengal, and to follow up any clue which may be discovered as to the prime mover in these intrigues, and the ultimate destination of the monies collected— only those who may have been active preachers of sedition and agents for collecting funds, or who may be suspected on reasonable grounds to be emissaries from the frontier and the country beyond, should be arrested for the present; and all arrests should be reported at once for the orders of Government, with a view to the issue of warrants under Regulation III of 1818." It was under these instructions that the recent inquiries regarding the Wahabees have been carried out.

7. Ibrahim Mundul came to Islampore from a village called Baisrusseah in zillah Moorshedabad, where he had removed from his native village, Jowdangah, within the sub-division of Jungypore. His father, Chand Mundul, was a man of some substance and influence in the village of Jowdangah, having an income of about eight thousand rupees a year from the cultivation of the land, and by selling silk-cocoons. The river Ganges having swept away the village of Jowdangah, we next find trace of the family in the person of Ibrahim Mundul, formerly named Docowree Mundul, settled in the village of Baisrusseah. It was here that he was visited by the moulvies of Patna and became involved in the agrarian disputes with the indigo planers in 1859 and

1860, more commonly known as the indigo disturbances. In those disturbances the Mahomedan ryots played a prominent part, and they appear to have made a deeper impression on them than on Hindoo cultivators. Like Rofeek Mundul of Narainpore, Ibrahim Mundul took a very active part in opposing the exactions of the indigo planters. He placed himself at the head of the *jotes* or unions to oppose the common oppressor by force of arms. I believe it was the successful opposition to the authority of the *sahebs* that first taught the peasants of Bengal to know their strength. It is since that period that we hear of *jamaitis* assemblies, and *jotes* or unions. Before that time these terms were confined to the *feragees* under Titoo Mea of Baraset, and the followers of Doodoo Mea in Furreedpore and Backergunge, when opposing the exactions of Hindoo zemindars. It is very clear that since that time the ryots have learnt that union is strength; and having by these means successfully resisted indigo oppression, and the subsequent attempts to enhance their rents at exorbitant and penal rates, they have learnt to band together and make common cause against any act encroaching on their rights. In Mahomedan villages this was specially the case. They had taken a prominent share in the struggle against their European masters, whom they were taught to regard as *kaffirs*; their worst passions had been excited in that struggle, and a strong feeling of resentment against the *sahebs* continued long after the evils in which they had their origin had ceased to exist, and long after the same feelings had evaporated from the minds of the more equable Hindoos. It was on ready manured soil of this description that the Wahabee missionary cast his dangerous seeds, and reaped an ample harvest of crescentaders who were easily incited to leave their native villages to the domination of the *kaffir*, and to seek climes unpolluted by the presence of the hated *feringee*. By his preaching he fanned into a flame the feelings of resentment which he found already existed in the breasts of his hearers and which perhaps would have died a natural death but for his imparting to it a religious character by reminding his hearers that the hated oppressors were the enemies of Islam, who had usurped the sovereignty of the country, and hatred to whom was not only pleasing to God, but the duty of all true believers of the Prophet. It is evident the Mahomedan moulvies are ever ready to avail themselves of every opportunity, to take advantage of any excitement, to work on the feelings of their followers against the Government. From credible information I have received there are some grounds for believing that these moulvies spread, if not originated, the idea of the greased cartridges amongst the sepoys at Barrackpore. That mischievous falsehood, so calculated to inflame their passions, had its origin, if I mistake not, in the Misreeunge Musjid in Calcutta.

8. I find that Ibrahim Mundul was implicated in the disturbances which culminated in the attack on the indigo factory of Mr. Lyons at Bunneajoan, on the banks of the Ganges, then included within the sub-division of Jungeepore.

9. While at Baisrusseah, Ibrahim Mundul took a leading part in the disputes with the indigo planter, Mr. David Andrews, of Ancoorah factory, and encouraged the ryots to get rid of indigo cultivation for ever. I learn that he held meetings, where it was determined that they would not cultivate indigo, and if pressed to do so by the factory they would resist. Collections were made,

and a combination formed calling upon all ryots to join in the league against the cultivation of indigo. Oaths were administered, and each village was bound to assist its neighbourer to resist the common enemy of all. Signals were agreed upon, and men armed with *latees* or clubs, and some with spears and fire-arms, met by beat of the *dunka* or drum, and prepared to take the law into their own hands. Finding themselves unopposed, they gathered courage and determined to declare war against every indigo planter. Knowing that Mr. Lyons was their most determined enemy, they came to the understanding that if they succeeded in getting rid of him, they would frighten Mr. Andrews and others to give in to their terms. They joined the ryots on the Maldah side of the Ganges and attacked Bukrabad factory, belonging to Mr. David Andrews, and burnt that factory to the ground. The next day they made arrangements to attack Mr. Lyons's factory Bunneagoan. The *dunkas* or drums were beat, and on this signal crowds of armed men assembled at Doolean and Kassimnagore. About five thousand men from Doolean marched in two bodies on Mr. Lyons's factory. Mr. Lyons, finding them approach within 120 yards of his house, fired into the crowd and wounded some of the rioters, and succeeded in scattering the crowd. This check allowed Mr. Lyons to proceed to the banks of the Ganges and hail a steamer which was passing his factory. Mr. Lyons was about returning to his house when the mob came down upon him with yells and shouts, when he again fired among the crowd several shots, and the attacking party, seeing *sahebs* landing from the steamer, retreated. The steamer leaving shortly after, the ryots finding themselves reinforced, determined to make another attack on Mr. Lyons; but when within half a mile of the factory they saw another steamer anchor off the factory, they dispersed.

10. This determined attack on the Bunneagoan factory was planned by Moorad Biswas, assisted by Ibrahim Mundul and others. The former, with some others, were arrested and sentenced to imprisonment. Ibrahim Mundul fled to the Sonthal Pargunnahs and settled on a waste and jungly strip of land between the river Ganges and the East Indian Railway, about five miles from the Railway station of Bahawah. This site was selected with great judgement, and is admirably suited for a head central station. It is out of the way of ordinary travellers; it commands the *ghats* or ferries on the Ganges, communicating with the districts of Maldah, Rajshahye, Bograh, Rangpore, and Dinagepore; while at the same time it affords easy communication with Patna by means of the rail. About ten years ago, when Ibrahim Mundul fled to this spot, it was a barren waste covered with jungle, without even a name; it is now a flourishing village. Ibrahim Mundul gradually gathered round him the families of the *jehadees* or crescentaders who had proceeded to the holy war and who had died on the Black Mountains, or, as the Mahomedans call it, *Khorassan*. Owing to the families of these men having settled there, it was called Islampore, or the place of the true professors of Islam.

11. The first Wahabee missionary who visited that part of the country was Moulvie Inayut Alli, a *kalifa* of Syud Ahamud; he made a few disciples. The next was Moulvie Muksood Alli of Dinapore, who was subsequently a leader of the fanatics at Mulka and Sittana, and who died on the frontier, and where three of his sons are still in the camp of the rebels at Palosah. Ibrahim became

his *mooreed* or disciple while living at Jowdangah, but Muksood Alli also visited Ibrahim Mundul at Baisrusseah. Muksood Alli made a great number of converts in the districts of Moorshedabad and Rajshahye; in fact, he may be said to have established the Wahabee sect in those parts. Ibrahim Mundul, in his statement before the Deputy Commissioner of Sonthal Provinces during his trial before that officer, states: "It was, I think, in 1252 or 1253 B.S. Muksood Alli came down as agent to inquire concerning the loss of a boat laden with mustard seed, about six miles from my house at Jowdangah. A man who gains his livelihood by begging, named Emam Alli, went and told him that there was a serious dispute among the Mahomedans at Jowdangah. Muksood Alli came to my house and asked me the particulars, which I gave him, and also that Moonshee Mahomed Nukee had excommunicated me and others for eating at a Beldair's marriage feast. Muksood Alli went to see the Moonshee to try and arrange matters. Many persons assembled, and Muksood Alli then showed from Mahomedan books that Moonshee Mahomed Nukee's *furwah* was wrong, and that all classes of Mahomedans were directed to eat together. On this the Moonshee recalled his *furwah* and gave another, that all Mahomedans might eat together and pray at the old mosque. He also settled all differences in the surrounding villages, and then came back to my house, when I and many others became his *mooreeds*. In 1259 or 1260 B.S. he again came to our neighbourhood. Jowdangah had been washed away by the Ganges, and we were then at Baisrusseah; he stayed with me five or six days. ["] He then states that "Muksood Alli wanted assistance to go to Mecca on pilgrimage *via* the hills at Khorassan"—a round-about way to get to Mecca.

12. Muksood Alli went to that part of the country as an agent of Ameer Khan and Hushmutdad Khan on the ostensible business of inquiring about a boat which was wrecked in the Ganges belonging to that firm; but his real object was to preach a *jeihad*. Muksood Alli's connection with Ameer Khan and Hushmutdad Khan has been established by the evidence of his brother Elahie Bux, who was also formerly a servant of Ameer Khan. Muksood Alli's connection with Ameer Khan and Hushmutdad Khan is corroborated by means of a letter found on him in 1852 A.D., when Muksood Alli was arrested at Meerut on his way to Sittana. This letter is addressed to "Ameer Khan, Calcutta, at the chumrah godown at Colootoolah, in the godown of Ameer Khan and Hushmutdad Khan." It states "that the writer is going on pilgrimage, and has succeeded in gaining several Mahomedans in his favour, and adds that new ones join him every day;" also that "he has before this requested arms for doctors: why have you not sent them? pray do so." Muksood Alli was released at Meerut, as there was no tangible evidence against him. Ibrahim Mundul told me, when under trial at Rajmehal, that his *moorsheed*, Muksood Alli, was released because he trusted in God alone, and that he, Ibrahim Mundul, would employ no pleader or barrister to defend him, but put his trust in God as Muksood Alli had done at Meerut.

13. Ibrahim Mundul was King, or rather Pope, of his little community at Islampore. He had been appointed a *kalifa* by Moulvie Muksood Alli. Several moulvies visited the colony. After Muksood Alli came Fyaz Alli, then Moulvie Ibrahim of Attea, Kagmaree, in the district of Mymensing; Attar Hossein of

Patna, and Mahomed Hossein, a son of Wilayat Alli. They one and all preached "*jehad* against the *kaffir* English, the present rulers of the country, who had dispossessed the followers of Mahomed. They enjoined *hijrut* or flight from such a country, but not all; some must still remain to support those who go to *jehad*; those who go, as well as those who remain for such a purpose, will reap seven hundred-fold hereafter. If anyone kills a *kaffir* and lives, he will be a *gazee*; and if he dies, he will be a *sahid* or martyr, and go to paradise."

As *kalifa*, Ibrahim Mundul had full power to collect—

1st.—*zekat*, or a tax of Rs. 2½ per cent on income; 2nd—*osar*, or one seer per maund on all produce. This tax was the main support of the Wahabee. It was collected by Ibrahim Mundul, from the adjoining villages of Kakjole, Polasbooneah, Delalpore, Dowlutpore, Sadoopara, Abdoollapore, Sadimpore, Chulkea, Elammee, Monerampore, Lohurpore, Haglabaree, Bohisbathan, Jealmaree, Doolean, Arangabad, and others, and yielded about ten thousand rupees a year.

3rd—*Mooti* or a handful of rice for each member of a family at every meal, deposited every Friday with the *moollah* or custodian of the village mosque, who sold the rice collected in this manner and carried the proceeds to the credit of the *jehad* funds.

4th.—*Lelahie*, [*Lillahi*, in the way of Allah] or voluntary offerings in addition to those mentioned above.

5th.—*Korbani ka chumrah*, or hides of beasts slain during the Bukreed. This tax yielded a large sum in that part of the country, and probably this (as already observed in my report on Maldah) is the reason why so many hide merchants joined the sect, or rather so many of the sect became hide merchants.

14. All accounts agree in giving Ibrahim Mundul credit for his honesty in dealing with the monies he collected. He regarded the collections as peculiarly belonging to *Ullah* or God, and he is stated to have been very zealous in the collections and very strict in reserving every pice for the purpose for which it was subscribed. So much was he valued by the Patna moulvies and the Wahabees generally, that when Abdoollah, their chief, mentioned the conditions on which he would make peace with the English, he mentioned the release of Ibrahim Mundul of Islampore as *sine qua non*. Besides the above recognized collections, he punished with fines for the following offences:—

- I. — Charging interest on money lent.
- II. — For assaulting a wife.
- III. — Going to a feast with other *jamaitis* or assemblies.
- IV. — For smoking tobacco. He was very strict on this point. He said there would be enough fire and smoke in *dozuk* or hell. He invariably punished for this offence with ten strokes of a shoe.
- V. — Fornication he punished with putting out of caste and shoe-beating, or a heavy fine.

His sole object in life appears to have been to collect funds for the support of the *jehad*. He was a man of good moral character, greatly respected in that part of the country, and invited even from distant parts of the country to decide disputes and arbitrate quarrels about land and family differences. He bears the character of having been strictly just and correct in his conduct. On an average

he collected about Rs. 20,000 annually for the *jehad*, and for some time he received the collections from Bograh, Maldah, Rajshahye, Rungpore, and Dinagepore. He devoted a part of these collections for the support of the wives and children of those who had gone to the hills, and in providing for the wants of fresh recruits; the remainder he remitted to Patna.

15. Numbers of *cossids* found their way to Islampore from the rebel camp, and frequent communication was thus kept up by their means. The chief *cossids* who visited Ibrahim Mundul were Abdool Gunny, Sufdar Ali, Ahmud Ali *alias* Shakjee Moosah, Rohim Bux Khan, and Nadir Ali. These *cossids* are in fact the real missionaries of the sect. They are the trusted messengers of Abdoolah, and the honesty with which they carry money to the colony is very remarkable. There is nothing to prevent their appropriating these large sums of money, for no claim could be brought against them in any court in the country, and yet I believe there is only one instance of a *cossid* having acted dishonestly. The man most remarkable amongst them was Abdool Gunny of Sooroojgurrah in zillah Monghyr, a cousin of the well known moulvie of Delhi, Nazeer Hossin. His zeal and labours in the Wahabee cause were untiring. When the time came after the *Bukreed* for the *zekat* of Ameer Khan, he was in Colootollah ready to receive the gold mohurs, and went by train to Loodianah to forward the same to the colony. I have heard of him at Hooghly collecting from the paper-makers and chikin-wallahs. I have had him followed to Simla, Lahore, and Rawul Pindee, and it is stated that he even went to Port Blair, serving as a common *khalashee* in one of the vessels that visit that port, and had an interview with Moulvies Ahmidoollah and Eayah Alli, sentenced to transportation across the seas in 1864. I was repeatedly on his track, but never could find him. At last in September 1870 a Hindoostanee, dressed in rags, and apparently a broken down *fakcer*, was stopped by the police at Peshawur. The Korwal of Peshawur, who is a staunch supporter of the Wahabees, testified to his being a common *fakcer*, and the man was very nearly released; but Colonel Chamberlain had received orders that no Hindoostanee was to be released without being first sent to him. The *fakcer* was accordingly sent to Abbotabad, and was immediately recognized by two of my approvers* as the great *cossid* Abdool Gunny.

* Shumshare Durzee,
Juhangeer

From the day of his arrest he visibly became weaker, though of no great age; his constitution seemed utterly broken by the unusual strain of his self-imposed labours. He was attacked by a distressing pain in the loins, brought about, it is said, by his having on the last occasion carried up to the hills a great weight of gold mohurs securely tied round that part of his person. He lingered on for two months and a half after his arrest, and eventually died in December 1870 at Rawul Pindee. The news of his death (as I was afterwards informed by men present at the time) threw a general gloom over the whole rebel camp. The leaders themselves felt they had lost their most efficient lieutenant in the plains, and it was not till the receipt of the death of Colonel Chamberlain some weeks later, an event which the rebels made the occasion of much rejoicing, and the firing of many guns, that they could bring themselves to look upon the death of Abdool Gunny with resignation. The self-devotion, strict integrity, and great zeal of this Wahabee *cossid*, are entitled

to respect, and fully prove that a native of Bengal can equal in religious fervour and self denial the greatest missionaries of the West.

16. Ibrahim Mundul generally sent his remittances in gold as more convenient for purposes of carriage. One of the witnesses, named Wajid Mohuldar, states in his evidence how Ibrahim Mundul was once cheated out a thousand rupees of his collections. He states that he (the witness) and Ibrahim Mundul, Sodool Hajee, one Najeboollah, and Moulvie Enyatoollah, left Islampore for Calcutta to purchase gold mohurs. "We started in the evening and went to Pakour station. Ibrahim Mundul purchased five tickets for five. We entered one compartment. Sodool had a bag of rupees, Najeboollah another, and I had the third bag. After the train had started, Enayatoollah said to Ibrahim Mundul 'The two sahebs who searched your house are now at Rumpore Haut. I shall meet them there and tell them that you are carrying rupees to Calcutta to purchase gold mohurs to send to the North-West for *jehad*.' Ibrahim Mundul begged and prayed of him not to do so, but Enyatoollah said, 'Give me the money, or I shall assuredly have you arrested.' At last it was arranged, that Enyatoollah should have one of the bags containing a thousand rupees, and Ibrahim Mundul gave him the bag I had with me. When the train stopped at the next station, Ibrahim Mundul got out with us, but Enyatoollah went on with the train, taking the bag with him." This story is confirmed by the evidence of Sodool Hajee, also recorded before the Deputy Commissioner. Ibrahim Mundul, in his statement made before that officer, endeavours to explain the matter as follows: "About four years ago I intended to celebrate my son Rohim Bux's marriage, and got together Rs. 2,000 for that purpose. I sent for Nujjeeboollah Mohaldar and asked him to proceed to Calcutta to purchase some articles for me, such as two hundred rupees worth of goldmohurs, cloths, plates, spices, &c. I asked Sodool Hajee to accompany Nujjeeboollah, and he agreed to do so. I intended going with them as far as Rampore Haut to see a doctor; and one Moulvie Enyatoollah, who had been in my house four or five days, also wished to go down to Nulhatty. We five started from my house at Pakour station. We could not all get into the same carriage. I and my servant were in one, and the rest in another. On reaching Nulhatty, I and my servant got out, and I was surprised to see Sodool Hajee and the two Nujjeeboollahs also get out, when I expected them to go to Calcutta. On inquiring, I was told that Moulvie Enyatoollah had threatened to have Sodool Hajee arrested, as he had recently returned from the North-West, unless he gave him a thousand rupees, and Sodool Hajee had been forced to give him a thousand rupees of my money to get off. Sodool Hajee promised to make good the money. Seeing that Enyatoollah had gone in the train, I could do nothing." This story is an ingenious attempt to explain away the evidence which told so strongly against him; but, unfortunately for the prisoner, it was too well known that Moulvie Enyatoollah had cheated him out of a thousand rupees in the manner described by the witnesses. Ibrahim Mundul would have had to make good this sum, but on the case having been reported to Mobarak Alli, who was sirdar at the time in Patna, he forgave him the amount.

17. Ibrahim Mundul sent a great number of *jehadees*, or crescentaders, to the Wahabee colony trans-Indus. Witness Lootfool Rohoman deposes that he was

induced to go to the North-West and join his co-religionists by Ibrahim Mundul, who sent him to Patna for this purpose. Fuzloo Rohoman testifies to having seen crescentaders at Islampore, in the house of Ibrahim Mundul. Some said that they had come from Jessore, some from Dacca; they said they were *jehadees* on their way to the *jehad* towards Khorasan. Sodool Hajee states that about six months after he had returned from Mecca, "Ibrahim sent for me to Islampore; he told me that he had received a letter from Khorasan stating that Syud Emam had appeared there, and asked me if I would go up and join the party there; that if I did, it would be well, and that I should be greatly benefited and venerated. He read the letter to me himself; he said it had been sent to him from Azimabad by Moulvie Yahiya Ali. He persuaded me to go to the North-West. Rohim Bux of my village, Nujjeeboollah of Delalpore, and Jajeer of Guggan Paharee, and some others, started. He gave us Rs. 4 each; to those in want of clothes he gave clothes. He gave me a *pugree* and a letter to Moulvie Yahiya Ali of Azimabad. He made me sirdar of the party. We took the train from Sahebgunge to Jamalpore, and then walked to Patna. I presented the letter to Moulvie Yahiya Ali, who told me to remain. After that he gave each of us Rs. 8; he further gave me 50 *ashruffees*, and desired me to give the same to Moulvie Abdoollah". The witness went to Moulvie Abdoollah, and remained at the colony several months. Husseeboollah Shaik testifies to having seen thirty or forty men at Ibrahim Mundul's; they came from the East. "I was employed to sew clothes for the crescentaders who left from Ibrahim Mundul's house." Witness was himself induced to go with three others, and his expenses were paid to Patna. He went to Mulka, where he saw about 2,000 men armed with swords and fire-arms. He was present at the fight at Sittana with the English, and was at Umbeyla. Mahomed Hossein deposes to having been sent from Maldah to Ibrahim Mundul, who sent him and six others to Patna, giving them Rs. 2 each for their expenses. He also went to Mulka and was away for about two years. Sobuktoollah of Maldah deposes to the same effect. Monerooddin of zilla Bograh states he was induced by a *cossid* named Soroofoolah to join Syud Ahmed. He and seven others, whom he names, came *via* Dinagapore to Islampore to Ibrahim Mundul's masjid, and proceeded thence to Patna. He was three years in the rebel camp. Gurreeboollah Shaik of zilla Mymensing deposes that he was induced to go to *jehad* by one Reazooddeen of Chillahparah. "He told me to go to one Ibrahim Mundul of Islampore, in the Rajmehal district." He came to Islampore, and was sent to Patna to Moulvie Yahiya Ali at Sadikpore. He went on to Mulka, where he remained three or four years. Assanoollah of zilla Mymensing, who came to Ibrahim Mundul with nine crescentaders, was sent on to Patna, Ibrahim Mundul giving them a man to show them the way to Soorojgurrah. Golabdee and Kowran Shaik of zillah Mymensingh depose to the same effect. Abdool Huq, Jomeer Shaik, Meajan Shaik, and Anunto Shaik of zillah Rajshahye, state they went by Islampore, and were encouraged by Ibrahim Mundul to proceed to *jehad*. Witnesses have testified to his aiding and abetting an attempt to wage war with the English, not only by sending recruits to the rebel camp, but by making collections and preaching. I beg to refer to the Deputy Commissioner Mr. Wood's judgement for an abstract of the evidence produced at the trial of Rajmehal. In short,

nearly the whole of the witnesses who have deposed before the Deputy Commissioner prove that they were assisted, encouraged, and sent on their way to *jehad*, by Ibrahim Mundul.

18. While on this subject, I may mention that a copy of a curious circular was found amongst the papers of Muksood Alli when his papers were seized at Meerut in 1852. This circular was sent to all the districts of Bengal to encourage men to proceed to Mulka and Sittana for *jehad*. It was written by the two brothers, Vilayat Alli and Enayat Alli, after their safe arrival at Mulka from Patna. It is as follows:- "We two brothers, with the women and children, have arrived at the place of trade at Sittana on the 13th Rubbel Sanee. I thank God for bringing us through so many dangers in peace and security. We had no hindrance on the road, but in every city the mohajuns treated us with respect as their superiors, and attended us on our way at parting, running along with us and weeping. It would take volumes to tell of all the favours we received. We tell a few to console our friends, a handfull, as specimen of the whole of our way by Benares, Allahabad, Futtighur, Cawnpore, Mohun Chutramun, Suteegt, Koorja, Delhi, Meerut, Mozuffanugger, Deobund, Saharunpore, Kurnaul, Loodiannah, Umbalah, &c., &c. Thosands of the faithful male and female, felt themselves honored by shaking hands with us, and came forward with respect and hospitality, and every one wished us to remain. On this account we were delayed on our journey; although our enemies, at the instigation of foes, used every means to annoy us, yet our helpless ones, to the number of 200 or 300 persons, with our luggage on camels and carts, came by the high road in perfect safety, and everywhere that we stopped in the Punjab all hearts were moved towards us, and all gave us hospitality and kindness: and in Hindoostan and in the Punjab hundreds of sepoy and sowars clasped our hands, and are *warm in our favor and ready to aid us*; and we have passed in perfect safety in broad daylight through the country of the enemy, and daily have stopped in the *musjids* of their servants, and were treated kindly by them, and got good advice from them. Is not this wonderful? Daily we passed through crowds of chiefs and their servants, horse and foot! When we reached Sittana, all the people of Swat and Bonnair and other countries with heart and soul welcomed us, and did us service by giving us houses, especially Syud Akbur Sha, the friend and benefactor of exiles from Hindoostan, who desires their presence as do all others in Swat. They supply us with everything. The country is green with corn, the hills are gardens of fruit, and everywhere are cool and sweet streams and flowers of every colour. For leaving so beautiful a country for the field of battle in Hindoostan, we shall have no answer to give the Angel of Death, and could expect no return but the fires of hell. You should fly the land of tyranny. Consider, reflect, oh Mahomedans! and cast away from your hearts your love of your country and come to a pure land, and pass the rest of your life in meditation and worship," &c. In addition to the circular, a list was found of the different stages from Loodiannah to Sittana, mentioning the mosques in which pilgrims could safely put up, and mentioning the names of all who were friendly to the cause. It was this list which the recruits were required to learn by-heart before leaving Patna, and in which they were examined daily by the moulvies.

19. The circular was noticed in letter from the Government of India, No. 1057, dated 23rd October 1853, as "reporting the warm reception given to pilgrims by all classes of Mahomedans, soldiers, and civilians on the road from Hindoostan, and describing the delights of Sittana, the abode of the fanatics on the Indus, are plainly no more than fallacious endeavours to entice weak and fanatic Mahomedans to aid in the movement either by money or personal effort." The remarks just quoted were those of the Government in 1853, just four years before the Indian mutiny. One sentence in this singular letter gathers terrible significance when read in the lurid light thrown upon it by the events of that fatal time. "In Hindoostan and Punjab" — so runs the letter — "hundreds of sepoys and sowars clasped our hands, and were warm in our favor and ready to aid us." Disaffection among the native troops seems to have made sensible progress even in that early time; yet so silently did the poison spread that the Government was ignorant of its existence, and, as we have already seen from the extract above given, found itself constrained to use only the language of contempt when speaking of a conspiracy, which, by exciting the Hindoos, ultimately drove the whole native army into open and bloody rebellion. Strange it is, no doubt, that most of the places through which these brothers passed, and which are named in this circular, are the places which stand out in bold relief in the history of the mutiny of 1857,—Allahabad Futteyghur, Cawnpore, Delhi, Meerut, Kurnaul!

20. The Government, in 1853, remark, "a correspondence has been undoubtedly carried on. The party at Sittana whose insignificance is rather confirmed than otherwise by all that is now transpiring, are no doubt doing their best to induce Mahomedans to join in a holy war. They have been doing so for years, and the letters now detected seem to His Lordship in Council to show that their efforts have been met with little success. They ask for money, they ask for arms and recruits, and the terms in which they write seem conclusive of the fact that they obtained very little of one and very few of the other. The result of the impressions His Lordship has received has not been to create any anxiety in his mind." Yet to quote from a well-known writer in a paper recently published, "the colony at Sittana has stirred up just as many coalitions of the tribes against our power as it did against our oppressive Seikh predecessors. At least two regular campaigns have been undertaken, one of them still remembered as the Umbeyla campaign, very nearly ended in a serious disaster. This occurred in 1863; but again, in 1868, a large force had to occupy the Black Mountain, who were able, just before they retired, to catch a sight of the fanatical emigrants moving on the opposite banks of the river." Had the two brothers been seized when emigrating with their wives and children to Sittana, the movement, in all probability, would have died out. Had the Government, before the mutiny, adopted active measures to stop the flow of *jehadees* to the North-West frontier, in all probability we should never have heard of the Umbeyla and the Black Mountain campaigns; and were the Government now to take measures to destroy the fort at Pollosah, and to bring in the leader, Abdoollah, and his 300 or 400 fanatics, in all probability we shall hear of no more "coalitions of the tribes against us," and, I may add, of no more assassinations. It was to add to the strength of this colony that Moulvie

Ameerooddeen of Maldah, and Ibrahim Mundul of Islampore, laboured heart and soul, and Ameer Khan subscribed so largely; in fact, the latter was heard to say, as stated by one of the witnesses, "Money we have: it is men that we want."

21. After all Ibrahim Mundul and his associates were a body of cruel fanatics, as the following extracts from the diary of the Deputy Commissioner of Sonthal Pergunnahs will prove. Ono [Sic] Sodoool Hajee of Abdoollapore had been to Mr. Wood and complained that in consequence of his having given evidence before Mr. White at Pakour in a Wahabee case, some months ago, his fellow villagers had persecuted him in so many ways that he would be forced to leave his village and home unless protected. On the 20th February 1870, Mr. Wood states in his diary: "Oojeer, whom I had sent to call the chowkeedar, came running up and told me that Sodoool Hajee, my informant, had been, with some of his party, severely wounded by the Kankjole villages, [villagers?] because he had been to my tent and told me of the Wahabees, and begged me to go and see him, as the two men were very badly hurt. I went back and found Sodoool Hajee and another man lying wounded in an old man's house, both having been severely beaten with *latees* all over their bodies. Their arms and hands much swollen. Sodoool Hajee told me how and by whom he and the others had been beaten, and that two men had gone to my camp at Radhanuggur to tell me what had occurred. I told those who were attending on the two wounded men to wash their wounds and bruises with hot water, and I would see that they got redress. I was told that those who had committed the assault had left the villages, in order hereafter to prove an *alibi*. As I could do nothing more at that time of the night, I returned to my camp.["]

22. In his report No. 229, dated 12th March 1870, Mr. Wood writes to the Commissioner of Sonthal Pergunnahs, paragraph 8: "To what length bigoted Wahabees will go is proved by the violence offered to Sodoool Hajee, Ear Mahomed, Lutfool Rohoman, Kummeerooddeen, and Deen Mahomed. Those who assaulted and severely hurt the first four named have been convicted and sentenced to six months' imprisonment by Mr. Stewart, Deputy Magistrate of Rajmehal, but Deen Mahomed has been the victim of a regular conspiracy for his ruin. This man had been named to Mr. White, Extra Assistant Commissioner at Pakour, as having taken an active part on behalf of the Wahabees, not only as a collector, but a trusted emissary of the Wahabee chiefs, and had been entrusted with monies to take to the moulvies at Azeemabad, and also had been some years in the Sittana country. A warrant for his arrest was issued on complaint made by Golam Sha Hajee and others. He absconded for a time, refusing to take Rs. 200 offered him by Golam Sha Hajee, on condition he returned to Sittana with his wife. He refused, pleading that having run away thence he would be killed if he went back to Sittana. After living a wandering life for some time, he determined on giving himself up to the authorities, and mentioned the same to his brother-in-law, who informed the sirdars, and on one of his visits to his village Islampore, he was set upon by Golam Sha Hajee, Moulah Bux, and others, and very severely hurt,—(*vide* the statement of Kally Mundul, Sangsar Chuckerbutty, and Sagore chowkeedar). Those who had so ill-treated Deen Mahomed, fearing the consequences of such

ill-treatment—Deen Mahomed having several times fainted from pain and weakness — and having heard that he had given up some important Wahabee papers to one Kally Mundul of Moharajpore, his assailants falsely charged him with having implements for the manufacture of counterfeit coins in his house, which Kally Mundul was searching at Deen Mahomed's request for nine Wahabee documents. These implements, according to Kally Mundul's own showing, had been evidently collusively placed where he found them. Kally Mundul afterwards, colluding with the Wahabee conspirators, instead of sending up to Mr. Stewart the original documents,—five Urdu and one Bengali,—substituted in their place five Bengali and one Urdu, which belonged to Deen Mahomed and had been found in his house in a small box; these Bengali papers being Deen Mahomed's private accounts. Kally Mundul further delayed three days before he sent in his report to Mr. Stewart, who was then at Sahebgunge. Golam Sha Hajee taking advantage of this delay, laid a charge of theft before a junior officer, Mr. Wood, against Deen Mahomed, stating that Deen Mahomed had snatched off his person a piece of woollen cloth, because Golam Sha Hajee was not able to pay him 4 annas which was owing to him. Having the whole village to back Golam Sha Hajee, Deen Mahomed was fined. The charge of having had in his house implements for the manufacture of counterfeit coin was so glaringly false that it was dismissed at once by Mr. Stewart. Not satisfied with what he had already done, Golam Sha Hajee brought a further charge against him under sections 503 and 504, Indian Penal Code, which was also dismissed." Golam Sha Hajee, with some others, was very properly arrested by the Deputy Commissioner, Mr. Wood, and remained in the jail at Rajmehal for some months. He was eventually released, on the application of Mr. O'Kinealy, on his making a full confession before him, and subsequently appeared as a witness at the Patna trial.

23. Deen Mahomed's papers, had they come into my hands, would have greatly altered the trial at Patna. They were very valuable papers, and I have no doubt the report is true that Kally Mundul sold them to the Wahabees for Rs. 700. Deen Mahomed died, it is said, of cholera, the very day I reached Rajmehal, where I had hastened to learn from him all that he knew about the Patna Moulvies. I find he went home one night, and on his return dined at a friend's house: it is said he was poisoned. The Wahabees had so much at stake, and had already made so many attempts to ruin him, that the story appears to me more than probable. An attempt was also made to poison *Oojeer* in a *khilee* of *paun* or betel leaf.

24. To show that there are strong grounds for believing that Deen Mahomed did not die a natural death, I beg to quote from his statement made before the Deputy Commissioner of the Sonthal Pergunnahs, and which, in fact, may now be regarded as the man's dying declaration.

25. "I am a resident of Islampore. I formerly lived at Jowdangah, but in consequence of the oppression of the Kallapanee indigo factory, many of us left, and just about that time our village lands were washed away by the river Ganges. Some twelve years ago Ibrahim Mundul of our village was very active in inducing young men to join the Wahabee cause in the North-West. He used to say that those who joined the *jehad* would do well, and those who fell in so

good a cause would obtain the fame of *sahids*; those who lived would become *gazees*; that the Mahomedans would recover Hindoostan from the English, and then we would divide the country; that those who gave a pice towards the cause, would have the same returned to them a thousand-fold, and those who would not subscribe, would be *kaffirs*, and die like dogs. Ten years ago I determined to go up to the North-West. Shahadut of Kankjole was our chief. Khoda Bux and Aseerooddeen of Kankjole, Jhuettun of Islampore, and I started. Ibrahim Mundul gave each of us Rs. 5 and two suits of new clothes. We went to Patna, Azimabad, to Moulvie Yahya Alli Sahib of Mohalah Sadekpore. We were there sixteen or seventeen days, and were taught the names of the villages we had to pass through on the route. We left Patna accompanied by Khitah Duffadar and Dainut Sheik of Loharpore, zillah Moorshedabad; Jesoruttoolah Pajra or fisherman, Abdoollah and Basarut of Ackreegunge, zillah Moorshedabad. We were ten in all. We went to Rawul Pindee. We went thence in small parties of one, two, and three, at a time to a place called Mulka, three days' journey from Rawul Pindee, where the headquarters of the Wahabees were. There were guns, cannon, and ammunitions of war of all kinds. Men were regularly drilled, and about 2,000 or 3,000 persons were assembled there. After I had been there I was taught drill. I was drilled for about six months. I was present at some battles, and then finding the British were victorious, I ran away, and arrived at home about two years ago, after an absence of about seven years. When I came home, Ibrahim Mundul was very angry with me, saying I had done very wrong in returning, and that when I died I should die the death of a hog. He said he would pardon me if I continued to serve the Wahabee cause. He promised to allow me Rs. 5 a month if I would be a collecting agent under him. I agreed, and served as such some two or three months, when Ibrahim Mundul was arrested and taken to Rajmehal. About a month afterwards Moulvie Abdool Gunny came to Islampore, and getting the several sirdars together, said he would appoint Golam Sha Hajee in Ibrahim Mundul's place. There was a warrant against Golam Sha Hajee, and he hid himself in Pakour district. Abdool Gunny sent for Golam Sha Hajee and told him that he had appointed him in place of Ibrahim Mundul during the latter's absence, and that he must carry on the work in the same manner as Ibrahim Mundul had done. He agreed, and then settled at Islampore; the arrangement being that should Golam Sha Hajee be arrested, Mowlah Bux was to be the sirdar; if anything befell him, then Doostee Mundul was to succeed; after Doostee, Fouzdar Mundul; after the latter, Koodoorut; after Koodoorut, Pauchkoree Mundul, then Rohim Buksh, son of Ibrahim Mundul; so that one of these men should at any time be able to take up the leadership, happen what might to the others, and that the work must be carried on. Seeing that Ibrahim Mundul had been arrested and was a prisoner, I became alarmed for myself, and told Golam Sha Hajee, Mowlah Bux, Doostee Mundul, and Fouzdar, who were the standing committee of head sirdars, that If did not intend to hold the appointment of collecting peadah any longer, and that they must appoint someone else. They refused to let me resign, saying they would excommunicate me from caste if I left my employ; no one should eat with me, and that if I died, I should not receive Mahomedan burial. Fearing

these consequences, I was obliged to retain my appointment for some time longer. In Assin or Kartik last, the Pakor hakim, hearing that the Wahabees were still collecting and *chalaning* away money, commenced an inquiry as to who were implicated in the same. I was named, and a warrant was issued for my arrest. Hearing this there was a great meeting of the sirdars, viz, Golam Sha Hajee, Doostee Mundul, Mullar Buksh, [sic] Fouzdar Mundul, all of Islampore; Dinnoo Mundul, Mousad Mundul, Himmutoollah Moonshee of Abdoolapore; Oormalee Mundul, Sahadut Hajee, Himmutoollah Khalifa of Polassbunna; Diloo Mundul and Badoollah of Dilalpore; also Osseeboolla, of that village; Moolee Shaik and Meer Hossein Ali, of Shadhoparra; Mowlah Bux of Serasin; Asuk Jowardar and Koleepot of Hurriara; Hajoo Duffadar and Bahadoor Shaik of Kankjole, and Khowaj Shaik of Moheshghattee; all met at the house of Mowlah Bux, who is a nephew and also son-in-law of Ibrahim Mundul. It was at this meeting determined that I must leave Islampore and return to Sittana, as I was too deeply acquainted with all the Wahabee intrigues, and might be possibly compelled, if arrested, to tell all I knew. Golam Sha Hajee as spokesman, proposed to give me Rs. 200 as a present, and that I should, with my wife, leave my home and return to Sittana. This was agreed to by all but myself. I said no; if I went back to Sittana I should be killed, because I had run away from there, and said I would not go there. The committee threatened to excommunicate me, and made use of all kinds of threats to induce me to leave the country. I said I would not, but did not mind lying hid away from home for a time. On this Mowlah Bux of Serasin said he would secret me in his house for a time. After this the whole meeting broke up about 8 P.M., having sat from 4 O'clock to that time. Next night I went to Mowlah Bux's house, being allowed to stay one day at home, and being duly warned by Golam Shah Hajee that if I dared show myself without orders, I should be assuredly killed. Sebuktoolla and Burkatoollah, of my village will be able to prove if they dare speak the truth; neither are related to me by family ties. Seeing I could not escape, I went away to Serasin to Mowlah Bux's house and remained there eight or nine days. Serasin is about four miles from Islampore. After remaining there eight or nine days, I thought I should be sacrificed there if I remained longer, and I determined to return home and take the consequences. I had my wife with me, and told Mowlah Bux that I had determined to run away altogether from the country; but as my wife was far advanced in pregnancy, I wished to have her at her brother Amoo's house, and then I would be off. Mowlah Bux borrowed a horse for me, and I came the same night to my brother's house. He told me I would be killed if I returned, and that I had better not. I said I was reckless, and did not think they would dare to kill me. I got a *doolee* and engaged two sonthals (Doolla Manjhee and Bogh Roy), and accompanied by Amoo I went back to Serasin for my wife, and brought her back that same night about 8 or 9 o'clock, and we went to Amoo's house, where I left my wife, and then went to my own house, where my mother and her sister, (my aunt) were. My mother said I was wrong in coming back, as she knew that my life was not safe. She went and called my sister's son-in-law, Rohomdee of Kankjole, who came. We had a talk over my troubles, and I determined to give myself up to Oojeer Sheik, who had a

warrant for my arrest; that I would give up to the Pakour hakim all the documents I had in my possession about the Wahabee movement; and that I should get more mercy at the hands of Government than from my own people.

possession about the Wahabee movement; and that I should get more mercy at the hands of Government than from my own people. Very early next morning I got up and was going to Kullian Bowrie's home, in order to hide in his house, and ask him to go and call Oojeer Sheik. Early as it was, several men were at the musjid, and seeing me they abused me, saying "you have dared to come back." 'Mowlah Bux was the first to lay hold of me by my hair, which I always wear long, as at present, after him Golam Shah Hajee, Pauchkooaree, Assaultut, Jamoo, Ryutoolla, and Boruktoolla, and all beat me severely, some with their fists, some with shoes, some with *budonas*. Fouzdar and Doostee were looking on and telling the other to "*marsala*." After I had been very severely beaten, Hyaddoolla and Sebuktoolla came to my help, and releasing me, I ran away as fast as I could to Kalee Mundul of Maharajpore, about a quarter of a mile distant. I told him how I had been beaten, why, and by whom, and asked him to *chulan* me to Rajmehal and I would make all my Wahabee papers over to the hakim. He returned with me to Islampore. By the time I got there, I was so faint that I could do, or say nothing for a time. Afterwards Kalee Mundul had me taken on a *charpoy* to the spot where I had

* Bancee Chatterjee.

been beaten, and there he got some one* to write out a report in accordance with what I had told him. I afterwards gave him up five papers in Urdu and one Bengalee, and asked him to send the same to the hakim, as they were important, and would throw much light on the Wahabee movement. These papers I took with me from my house, and gave them to Kalee Mundul at his own house at Maharajpore. At that time only two Harees were present. I do not know their names; they live at Maharajpore. I shall know them again if I see them. When Kalee Mundul got the papers, he said "Now I have these Mussulmans at my mercy and power." He sent me back in a doolee to my own house, saying he would see first what the hakim said, but would not *chulan* me then. I became very ill again, my chest being so painful from the beating I had received. Next day Doostee Mundul came, and laying hold of my feet, told me I had better go away, or I should assuredly be killed, as I had given up valuable papers and my death had been determined on. I was too ill to do anything; and after staying sometime at my house, I was again taken to Maharajpore and asked to compromise the whole case. I said to the Mundul, I have given valuable papers, and you won't act I can do no more. Whilst I was at Maharajpore my house was searched, and it was said that some apparatus for making counterfeit rupees had been found. This was placed there to get me into trouble, seeing I would not compromise the case. Mundul would not *chulan* me to Rajmehal as I often asked him to do. Had the apparatus for making counterfeit coin been *bona fide* found in my house, why did not Mundul *chulan* me as a prisoner? The truth was he had been bought over, and I hear some Rs. 700 had been given him and those with him to hush up this case. My family, seeing that I should be killed, and the Mundul for three days would do nothing, determined to get me out of the village. Amoo Sheik and Pauchkowree took me on a *charpoy* rigged up like a

doolee, and carried me off to Bunneagaon, about eight to nine miles distant, and left me near Sahade Mundul's house. Next morning I was taken across the river, and found my way as best I could to Hablass Mundul's house, which I reached after considerable trouble, as I was still weak from my pains and aches. I remained at his house some eight or nine days, and then went to Seebuktoola's house at Saurdha, and stayed there some eight or nine days, when, hearing that my mother had been *chulaned* to Rajmehal, I therefore determined to go to Pakour, and tell the Pakour hakim everything. I was sent up to Rajmehal and taken before the *chota sahib*. I was called upon to give security and remain in attendance. I knew no one up there, could give no security; so was sent to jail, and finally fined Rs. 5 by the *chota sahib* in a case which Golam Shah Hajee had personally brought against me, charging me with having snatched away a blanket of his from him, on pretence that he owed me four annas, which he had offered to pay me, but I would not take the four annas but had snatched away his blanket. After this during my absence from home, my house was burnt down. I have no doubt this was done by those who were against me; but I have no witnesses to prove who burnt down my house. Not satisfied with all this, Golam Shah Hajee has brought another charge against me, viz. that I went to his house, endeavouring to induce his wife to leave him, and had threatened to kill him and burn down his house. I have given my defence in that case, and my witnesses had been called upon to appear, when Oojeer Shaik told me that you wanted me, so I came away at once, and accompanied you when you arrested Abdool Rohim and his fellow villagers at Abdoolapore musjid. A brother will tell against his brother, a son against his father, but no one will split or peach against any of the sirdars, because of their religious fears, and also because they would be excommunicated, besides being treated in the manner I have been. In every Wahabee village there is one sirdar, if not more, and collecting peons every here and there: Danish of Abdoolapore, formerly of Islampore; Mahomed Allee of Islampore; Mogdoom of Kankjole; Hydruttoolla Khalifa of Polassbunna, were also collecting peons. They collected often for the moulvies in the same manner that I did, but they will not peach against the chief."

26. There is sufficient in what Mr. Wood witnessed at Kankjole in the attempt to poison Oojeer, and in the mournful narrative of the unfortunate Deen Mahomed, to show how determined and how unscrupulous the Wahabees are when they find it their interest to get rid of a man who is likely to injure their cause. Deen Mahomed's statement is corroborated by that of Oojeer, who stated before Mr. Wood "that Deen Mahomed knew there was a warrant against him, and he wanted to go back from the Wahabees. The sirdars wanted him to leave the country, and offered him money to go back to Sittana, but he would not go. He wanted to give up some important papers he had by him, which the sirdars hearing they half killed him at Islampore. He gave up some papers afterwards to Kallee Mundul of Maharajpore, to send to the Rajmehal hakim. The sirdars bribed him, and he gave up the papers to them, and brought a charge against him of snatching away a blanket from Golam Shah Hajee, who prosecuted Deen Mahomed before the *chota sahib* at Rajmehal and had him fined Rs. 5. His house was burnt down, but he could not prove who did it. How could he when the whole village, and even his own

relatives, were against him? He however knows all the principal men in the Wahabee cause, both here and across the Ganges, having been formerly a trusted agent, and used to collect money and take money to the moulvies at Patna. Had his papers been sent up to the hakim, the whole matter would have been easily proved."

27. I experienced great difficulty in finding witnesses to depose against Ibrahim Mundul. He was a man of so much influence, and held in such great regard as a leader, that men were unwilling to testify to any of his seditious acts. It was mainly through the exertions of inspector Baboo Nobokisto Ghose and the head constables named in the margin that sufficient evidence was obtained, assisted by

Madhub Roy.

Denoo Sing.

Modoosdun Chowdry.

Azur Ali.

Koonjo Behary Hazrah.

Nunnoo Beg.

Kajee Moorad.

Sodool Hajee, Oojeer Shaik, Subuktoolla, and Husseboolla. Baboo Nobokisto Ghose, notwithstanding his services in tracing and capturing a band of *Sonarias*, and his successful exertions in

the case relating to the robbery of the mail at Midnapore, and though his services in these cases had been favourably noticed by the Government, has been reduced from an Extra Assistant Superintendent of Police to an inspector of police, losing at the same time the yearly increase of Rs. 20 to his salary sanctioned under the orders of Government, No. 2587 dated 22nd April 1867. I would suggest that, as a recognition of his services at Maldah, in the prosecution of Ameerooddin, and at Rajmehal in the prosecution of Ibrahim Mundul, he receive separately his services in the Patna trial. Each of the head

Rs. 30 to Sodool Hajee of Abdoollapore.

„ 30 to Oojeer at Kankhole.

„ 25 to Subuktoolla of Islampore.

„ 10 to Hosseeboolla of Abdoollapore.

„ 30 to Golam Shah Hajee of Islampore.

constables named above I would recommend for a reward of Rs. 50. To the men named in the margin* I beg to recommend, as compensation for the period they were detained at the trial, and their exertions in assisting the prosecution, the rewards noted in the margin opposite their names. These men continued steadfast on the side of Government from the time I succeeded in

prevailing on them to break with the Wahabees in 1868, and they have been subjected to persecution ever since. They are entitled to the protection of the Government officers in the Sonthal Pergunnahs. Golam Shah Hajee I think is also entitled to receive compensation for the length of time he was detained during the Patna trials.

28. I feel certain that the movement will not be put down in the Sonthal Pergunnahs by the conviction of Ibrahim Mundul, though he had been sentenced to transportation for life across the seas. Islampore is conveniently situated in the route between Bengal and the North-West, and emissaries from the rebel camp will constantly pass through, and the Mahomedans are so bigotted, that they will as a rule protect them. Wahabeeism has taken deep root in the adjacent villages, and the inhabitants will not give the remitting money to Moulvie Abdoollah. Sufdar Ali, the leading cossid next to Abdoool Gunny, is still at large, and I have already heard of his having been recently to Islampore to receive the collections. Maomed Hossain, a son of Velayet Ali, is still at

Patna, and is the recognised head of the Wahabees in that city, and both he and Moulvie Abdool Koyoom, a son of Moulvie Yahiya Ali, and Abool Hamid, son of Ahmedoolla, have repeatedly visited Islampore and Maldah. So long as these moulvies remain at large, I fear the collections for *jehad* will not cease; at least so long as the rebel camp stands across the frontier. Should the Government be ever engaged in a war with Cabul or the Russians, the rebel camp will be the focus where dissatisfied and fanatical Mahomedans will assemble; and the information possessed by these *cossids*, regarding every part of the Punjab, the North-Western Provinces, and Bengal, will be very valuable to our enemies, for they are acquainted with every inch of the country, and know the feeling of every Mahomedan village towards the British Government.

29. I beg to annex two statements, A, showing the villages in which the sect predominates, and B, giving the names of persons who belong to the Wahabee sect so far as I have been able to gather. I have no doubt there are numbers besides who have not come under my notice.

30. I received every assistance in my inquiries from Mr. Wilmot, the Assistant Commissioner of Rajmehal, and from Mr. Steward, who succeeded Mr. Wilmot.

APPENDIX A.

STATEMENT OF WAHABEE VILLAGES IN RAJMEHAL.*

Names of Villages.	Police Station.	District.
Islampore	Rajmehal	Rajmehal
Ruhmutpore	Ditto	Ditto.
Kakjole	Ditto	Ditto.
Polashboonah	Ditto	Ditto.
Andar Kottah	Ditto	Ditto.
Abdoollahpore	Ditto	Ditto.
Ashareegram	Ditto	Ditto.
Delalpore	Ditto	Ditto.
Hurrihur	Ditto	Ditto.
Mohesh Ghattee	Ditto	Ditto.
Nadhooarah	Ditto	Ditto.
Gugunpaharee	Pakour	Ditto.
Muneerampore	Ditto	Ditto.

* In the original records the names in these statements are written also in Bengali alongside the English. These Bengali duplications are not reproduced here. — M.M. Ali.

Names of Villages.	Police Station.	District.
Shegrampore	Ditto	Ditto.
Chaskee	Ditto	Ditto.
Lukhunpore	Ditto	Ditto.
Shitapaharee	Ditto	Ditto.
Chandpore	Ditto	Ditto.
Elamee mouzah	Ditto	Ditto.
Taranuggur	Ditto	Ditto.
Osmanpore	Ditto	Ditto.
Baro Masheah	Ditto	Ditto.

APPENDIX B.

STATEMENT SHOWING THE NAMES OF PRINCIPAL WAHABEES IN THE
DISTRICT OF RAJMEHAL.

Names	Place of residence.	Police Station.	District.
Pauchcowree Gazie	Islampore	Rajmehal	Rajmehal.
Koodrootoollah	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Mahomed Alli	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Ibadoollah	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Shebkuitoollah	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Jhatun <i>alias</i> Abdool Mujid	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Shekh Amoo	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Bara Rohim Bux	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Chota Hazarie	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Sheik Jannoo	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Sheik Kamoo	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Bara Hazaree	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Fouzdar Mondul	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Jearut Mondul	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Busharut	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Asalut	ditto	ditto	ditto.

Names	Place of residence.	Police Station.	District.
Kobir Mondul	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Godhum Mondul	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Dookhoo Mondul	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Rohumut Mondul	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Ghinoos Mondul	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Sheik Fahumdee	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Sheik Badoollah	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Raytoollah	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Fyzuddin	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Moula Bux	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Doostee Mondul	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Bara Buruftoollah	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Ahmudoollah	Islampore	Rajmehal	Rajmehal
Chota Rohim Bux	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Sheik Pauchkuree	Rohmutpore	ditto	ditto.
Golam Shah Hajee	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Sheik Dhooloo	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Azizoollah	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Ishak	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Ameen Buksh	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Sheik Jaigir	Gugunpaharee	Pakour	ditto.
Sheraj Mondul	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Sheik Bhadir	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Meherdee Mondul	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Pachoo Sheik	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Sheik Khoodee	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Sheik Haroo	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Sheik Meghoo	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Sheik Koreem	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Sheik Delbur	ditto	ditto	ditto.

Names	Place of residence.	Police Station.	District.
Jhetun Sheik	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Danesh	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Alabdee	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Sumirooddin	Monirampore	ditto	ditto.
Sheik Rohmutoollah	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Jalem Dufadar	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Mamlut Sheik	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Shobrottee	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Kesmootoollah	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Moniruddin	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Jumiruddin	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Goodar Mondul	Munirampore	Pakour	Rajmehal.
Golabdee	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Tinoo Biswas	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Sheik Isoof	Shagrampore	ditto	ditto.
Sheik Enayut	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Sheik Subeel	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Hazaree Mondul	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Denoo Mondul	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Khoodoo Mondul	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Jafur Mondul	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Badul Mondul	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Golamee Mondul	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Ektear Mondul	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Lukhoo Mistree	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Sheik Joomun	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Sheik Beeramdee	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Shahosh Mondul	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Chota Lukhoo	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Jolil Mondul	ditto	ditto	ditto.

Names	Place of residence.	Police Station.	District.
Torip Mondul	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Budee Mondul	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Chukoo Biswas	Chanchkee	ditto	ditto.
Sheik Jhetun	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Nazir Biswas	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Sheik Oozul	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Banee Mollah	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Ameen Biswas	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Sheik Himmut	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Sheik Shaduk	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Sheik Dadun	Chanchkee	ditto	ditto.
Keramutoollah	Lukhunpore	ditto	ditto.
Noordee Dufadar	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Sheik Sheraz	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Sheik Furril	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Sheik Shadee	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Sheik Rohomut	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Sheik Mohobut	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Sheik Asmut	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Sheik Hadee	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Sheik Delbur	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Sheik Sooltan	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Moratee Sheik	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Solim Sheik	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Sheik Kadir	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Sheik Nazir	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Sheik Jeenoo	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Etbaree Sheik	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Oozir Sheik	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Sheik Amanutoollah	ditto	ditto	ditto.

Names	Place of residence.	Police Station.	District.
Sheik Emarut	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Golam Nubee	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Sheik Mashoom	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Dhooloo Sheik	Shitapaharee	ditto	ditto.
Oozul Sheik	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Showdagur Sheik	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Sheik Tukee	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Khoda Buksh	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Kolimooddin	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Nusrut	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Sheik Delshad	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Khoodee Mondul	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Rostum Alli Mondul	Polashbonah	Rajmehal	ditto.
Showdagur Mondul	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Shahadut Hajee	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Ibrahim Sheik	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Sheik Khoda Buksh	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Monirooddin	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Abeer Sheik	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Hyat Sheik	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Haroo Sheik	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Doshur Sheik	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Enatoollah Mollah	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Hydatoollah Khulifa	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Golamee Mondul	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Bushirooddin	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Lutfur Rohman	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Ashirooddin	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Enatoollah	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Ameenooddin	ditto	ditto	ditto.

Names	Place of residence.	Police Station.	District.
Sheik Tayeb	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Khoshal Sheik	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Meajan	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Muteeoollah	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Jan Baksh	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Adalut	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Sheik Jearut	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Shikdar Mondul	Polashbonah	Rajmehal	Rajmehal
Maher Ally	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Sukoo	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Hemayer Sheik Khuleefa	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Bara Motteeoollah	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Doaboo Mondul	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Sheik Mokarib	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Ormabil Mondul	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Ektear Sheik	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Asirooddin	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Mamlut Sheik	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Lal Mohomud	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Jumeat Mollah	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Chota Sumirooddin	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Gool Raj	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Chota Jan Buksh	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Monib Sheik	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Black Shobhandee	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Deen Mohomud	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Bara Sumirooddin	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Jalem Mondul	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Koshbul Mollah	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Mujlish Mondul	ditto	ditto	ditto.

Names	Place of residence.	Police Station.	District.
Kefatoollah Mondul	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Deenoo Mondul	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Jhaproo Sheik	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Oomar Sheik	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Abdool Mondul	Andureekota	ditto	ditto.
Mohubut Sheik	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Koreem Buksh	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Hossein Ally	Andureekotah	Rajmehal	Rajmehal.
Assirooddin	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Mohboob Sheik	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Enatoolla	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Deanut Mondul	Chanpore	Pakour	ditto.
Sheik Sonaoolah	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Sheik Jalem	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Shahbaz Sheik	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Mashoom Sheik	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Hymait Sheik	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Sheik Hakim	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Danesh Jollah	Abdoollapore	Rajmehal	ditto.
Chatim Sheik	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Shobratee	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Hymatoollah Moonshee	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Munshad Mondul	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Dinoo Mondul	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Mochun Sheik	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Guriboollah	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Chota Husiboollah	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Alum Mondul	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Hyar Mondul	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Besharut Sheik	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Rohmut Sheik	ditto	ditto	ditto.

Names	Place of residence.	Police Station.	District.
Shomun Mondul	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Tejarat Sheik	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Bankee Mistree	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Pachoo Sheik	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Pichoo Sheik	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Kedar Buksh	Abdoollapore	Rajmehal	Rajmehal.
Anaroollah	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Shurif Mondul	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Deen Mohmud	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Ear Mohomud	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Adloo Sheik	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Surriat Sheik	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Chota Pauchoo	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Korbanee Biswas	Ellamee	Pakour	ditto.
Shobhanee Khulifa	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Donoo Mondul	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Nukurree Sheik	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Hanif Sheik	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Sheik Gadee	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Golabdee	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Sheik Rohmut	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Nannoo Sheik	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Shuriat Sheik	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Sheik Nazir	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Neamut	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Esoof Sheik	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Futtoo Sheik	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Kabil Sheik	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Sheik Habilash	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Ameer Sheik	ditto	ditto	ditto.

Names	Place of residence.	Police Station.	District.
Asalut Sheik	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Sheik Khattaz	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Sheik Jaigir	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Chutroo Sheik	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Rohumdee Mollik	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Kumeerooddin Sheik	Kakjole	Rajmehal	Rajmehal.
Ameerooddin	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Arubddin	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Nubabdee Sheik	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Mamlut Sheik	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Madaree Sheik	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Bara Moorat	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Roshumaly Mondul	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Hazaree Sheik	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Deen Mohomud	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Second Moarat	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Doola Sheik	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Jorip Sheik	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Domun Ghuramee	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Noykurtee Sheik	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Besharut Sheik	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Chattalea Mondul	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Enayutoollah	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Meer Ellahie Buksh	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Bara Fagoo Sheik	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Azgur Sheik	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Peeroo Sheik	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Mosahib Sheik	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Jadoo Sheik	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Sanaoollah Sheik	ditto	ditto	ditto.

Names	Place of residence.	Police Station.	District.
Goolzar	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Badul Sheik	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Chota Kaloo Sheik	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Ala Baksh	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Alpoo Jollah	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Kootub Sheik	Ellamee	Pakour	Rajmehal
Aladee Jollah	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Sheik Dowlut	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Sheik Tincowree	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Gomanee	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Shuferooddeen	Taranuggur	ditto	ditto.
Bashee Dufadar	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Palim Sheik	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Gujroo Khan	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Chukoo Sheik	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Masum Sheik	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Golamee Sheik	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Mohubool Sheik	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Gahul Sheik	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Asharee Sheik	Oosmalpore	ditto	ditto.
Khoodee Sheik	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Lushkur Sheik	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Miso Sheik	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Koaran Sheik	Asharee Gram	Rajmehal	ditto.
Oomerooddin Sheik	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Nazir Sheik	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Bahadoor Sheik	Kakjole	ditto	ditto.
Sukarat Sheik	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Mukdoom Shaik	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Chetoo Sheik	ditto	ditto	ditto.

Names	Place of residence.	Police Station.	District.
Ameen Sheik	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Sheik Futoollah	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Ellahie Baksh	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Hydar Mollah	Kakjole	Rajmehal	Rajmehal.
Hajee Dufadar	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Shalem Sheik	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Ellahie Buksh	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Kuromalee	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Enayutoollah	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Bara Soorut	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Shebuktoollah	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Jakir Sheik	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Booneadee Khan	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Chota Golzar	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Baboo Sheik	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Bheloo Sheik	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Sobratee Sheik	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Sahebooddin Sheik	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Lal Mahomud Sheik	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Bara Abdoollah	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Makim Mistree	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Chota Tomun	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Goriboollah	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Bara Mandaree	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Deeloo Sheik	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Nujiboollah	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Mowla Buksh Sheik	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Chota Asharee Sheik	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Kurreemoollah	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Lal Mahomud Jollah	ditto	ditto	ditto.

Names	Place of residence.	Police Station.	District.
Enutoo Jollah	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Ataroo Sheik	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Oozir Sheik	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Eakoob Jumadar	Kakjole	Rajmehal	Rajmehal.
Mamlut Sheik	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Nowabdee Sheik	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Shobratee	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Dowlut Khan	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Deen Mahomud	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Chota Shobrat	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Shohubut Deheedar	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Chota Kureem	Delalpore	ditto	ditto.
Deloo Biswas or Mundul	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Sheik Koreem	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Budoollah	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Bara Hymaut	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Sheik Diloo	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Agur Mondul	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Shoodar Mondul	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Nusrut Mondul	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Sheik Koreem	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Hashrut Mondul	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Oseeboolla	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Chuckrooddy	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Koolfut Sheik	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Khoodee Sheik	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Sheik Kureem	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Bara Hymaut	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Sheik Banoo	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Sheik Haleem	Hurrihur	Rajmehal	Rajmehal.

Names	Place of residence.	Police Station.	District.
Sheik Besharut	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Ismail	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Deanut Mondul	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Nusrut	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Fyaz Mondul	Moheshghattee	ditto	ditto.
Pachoo Mondul	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Perroo Manjee	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Shuriat Sheik	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Ashub Sheik	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Nuzurooddin Jollah	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Sheik Bukshoo	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Imam Buksh	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Sheik Goomanee	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Nufurooddee Sheik	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Sheik Domah	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Mundee Sheik	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Asoullah Sheik	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Mogee Sheik	Nadhoparah	ditto	ditto.
Meer Sahib	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Moolee Sheik	ditto	ditto	ditto.

APPENDIX III

J.H. REILY'S REPORT ON THE INVESTIGATIONS AND TRIALS AT PATNA, DATED 31 DECEMBER 1871

No. 188, Dated Calcutta, the 31st December 1871

From

J.H. Reily, Esq.,
District Superintendent of Police,
on special duty.

To

The Secretary to the Government of Bengal,
Judicial Department.

I have the honour to submit a report of the proceedings which led to recent trials of Ameer Khan and others, seven Wahabee prisoners, before the Sessions court at Patna. I have already submitted reports relating to the proceedings at Malda and Rajmehal.

2. On reference to my letter No. 339, dated the 28th November 1868, to the address of the Inspector-General of Police, it will be seen that from the investigation held by me at Malda and Rajmehal, it was clear that Patna was still the link between Bengal and the North-West Frontier. I accordingly determined to try what could be done at Patna to carry out the instructions contained in Government orders No. 6059, dated 10th November 1868, directing me "to follow up any clue which may be obtained as to the prime movers in those intrigues, and the ultimate destination of the moneys collected." My report on Malda and Rajmehal will show that Ameerooddeen and Ibrahim Mundul derived their authority from the Moulvies at Patna, and remitted collections realized by them for jehad to Patna; consequently I found it necessary to follow the clue to Patna, and from thence I intended, if successful, to proceed higher up towards the North-West Frontier.

3. The information before me at the time was that derived from Moulvies Enaitoollah and Sudderoodeen; the latter having offered to point out to Baboo Nobokisto Ghose two or three of the cossids who had carried money to the rebel camp across the Indus. The extra assistant of the third circle was at the time engaged in investigating a case of murder in the district of Purneah. It was important to act without loss of time to prevent the revelations made at Rajmehal, reaching Patna. I determined to employ the extra assistant Nobokisto Ghose, who had received a reward for his services in the Wahabee trials at Umballa and Patna in 1864 and 1865, and to whom the information had been given by Sudderoodeen. But unfortunately the Commissioner of Patna, Mr. Jenkins, objected to my employing Nobokisto Ghose at Patna, and I received a telegram from Government directing me "to send Nobokisto away from Patna at once." The orders were carried out without delay; and I may now be permitted to remark, with all due respect, that this sudden termination to the enquiries originated by Baboo Nobokisto Ghose compelled me to trust entirely to the extra assistant Ellahie Bux, who, though a clever officer, is a recent convert to Mahomedanism from Hindooism; and this appeared to me a

serious objection. On reference to letter No. 289, dated the 5th December 1868, from the Inspector-General of Police to Government, it will be seen that the Inspector-General was of the same opinion. I believe that had I been permitted to work out the clue as I intended, the proceedings at Patna would have been as successful as they have proved at Malda and Rajmehal.

4. The extra assistant Ellahie Bux having reached Patna, I tried to work the clue given by Moulvy Enaitoollah and Sudderoodeen through him; but as is generally the case, the informers not having the same confidence in him, the clue completely broke down, and Ellahie Bux was directed to institute fresh enquiries at Patna.

5. The extra assistant found two men, named Boodhun Lall and Ameer Ali, who had been *gomastahs* of a firm at Patna, who declared that moneys collected on account of *Jehad* from Bengal were received by Moulvy Mubarak Ali, who transmitted the same by *hoondees* and in goods to Moulvy Abdoolah, the chief of the Wahabees trans-Indus. It was ascertained that the firm alluded to by these two men was that of Ellahie Bux, who is named in Mr. Ravenshaw's report printed in the Government selections "as a witness against Ahmedoollah, and sentenced to transportation for life at Umballah, but for whom application had been made for a pardon." The pardon was obtained, and Ellahie Bux gave important evidence at the trial at Patna in 1865, and eventually received as compensation five hundred rupees to set himself up in business. Ellahie Bux died in 1867, and his wife Mussamut Tukleywah obtained the usual certificate from the civil court, in the name of her infant son Abdool Hameed, to administer to the estate of her deceased husband. It is important to note the fact that the value of the estate in the Judge's certificate is stated to be Rs. 500.

6. Boodhun Lall and Ameer Ali were the servants of Ellahie Bux, and were retained by the widow in the same capacity, while her brother-in-law Khorshaid Ali was the actual manager. The cause of Boodhun Lall and Ameer Ali volunteering this statement, was Khorshaid Ali quarrelling with Boodhun Lall, and instituting a suit against him in the Small Cause Court for Rs. 38. The falling out of these rogues led to the revelation of the business. The object in selecting the shop of the deceased Ellahie Bux is clear; it was supposed very correctly that the Government authorities would never suspect that the Wahabees would again make their remittances through the shop of one who had given evidence against their leader, and who had been set up in business by the Government. Khorshaid Ali at the same time carried on the business for the widow of his deceased brother without exciting suspicion.

7. On receiving information from the extra assistant Ellahie Bux regarding this clue, I hastened to Patna on the 14th December 1868. I produced the two men, Boodhun Lall and Ameer Ali, before the Officiating Joint-Magistrate, who examined them on oath in the presence of Khorshaid Ali. They made the same statement before the Joint-Magistrate as they had made to the extra assistant of police. I then applied for search warrants to seize the books relating to the shop of the deceased Ellahie Bux. The search warrants were granted by the Joint-Magistrate, and three houses in different parts of the city of Patna were searched in my presence. In the shop we found account books kept regularly in the handwriting of Boodhun Lall for a series of years, both

preceding Ellahie Bux's death and also subsequently. These books show that since the death of Ellahie Bux, and during the management of Khorshaid Ali in 1284 Hejira, Rs. 9,728, and in 1285 Hejira, Rs. 11,914 have passed through the shop. Khorshaid was unable to explain from whom these large sums of money were received. It was evident also that the quarrel between him and Boodhun Lal originated on the latter claiming a share in the business.

8. Copies of the evidence of Boodhun Lal and Ameer Ali were submitted to Government through the Inspector-General of Police; and I remarked at the time that there was no doubt that a portion of the collections from Bengal for *jehad*, were remitted to the frontier in the manner described by Boodhun Lal, and clearly corroborated by the account books of the shop which Khorshaid Ali admitted were genuine. I applied for a warrant under Regulation III of 1818 to detain Khorshaid Ali in jail at Patna. The same evidence also showed that Moulvy Mubarak Ali was the chief agent of the Wahabees at Patna; that he it was who had made use of Khorshaid Ali's shop to remit money. He is named by Mr. Ravenshaw as "holding a power of attorney from Moulvy Ahmedoolah", who was sentenced to transportation across the seas in 1865, as the chief of the Wahabees in the city of Patna. The evidence of Moulvy Enaitoolah corroborated that of Boodhun Lal and Ameer Ali. The statements made by the witnesses at Maldah and Rajmehal confirmed the fact, that Moulvy Mubarak Ali had been appointed successor to Moulvy Ahmedoolah. I also applied for a warrant of detention against Moulvy Mubarak Ali. The warrants against Khorshaid Ali and Mubarak Ali were granted to the officer in charge of the jail at Patna, under the orders of Government No. 6868, dated the 23rd December 1868. I may mention, that subsequently Khorshaid Ali was released as an inferior agent, while Mubarak Ali was brought to trial. It appears to me that Khorshaid Ali is a dangerous man, and should be kept under strict police surveillance.

9. The same evidence implicated Babur Ali, Mahomed Ismail, and Choonee Ekkawallah, as *cossids*, who carried goods and money to Delhi. These men are still at large, and there is no doubt that whenever a favorable opportunity occurs, they will be employed on the same business. The movements of these three men should also be watched by the police.

10. About this time, under instructions from the Government, No. 293, dated the 15th January 1869, Baboo Ishree Pershad was directed to assist me in these enquiries, as well as Baboo Nobokisto Ghose, who, it was requested, "should not be employed in Patna itself." I deputed Baboo Ishree Pershad to Patna, as he had the confidence of the authorities in that city; and directed Baboo Nobokisto Ghose to go on with the investigations at Malda and Rajmehal, and also to Rajshahye and Moorshedabad. The successful proceedings of the latter have already been noticed in my reports on Malda and Rajmehal. To Baboo Ishree Pershad I sent a letter, No. 12, dated 19th January 1869, forwarding to him a copy of the orders of Government, No. 6054, dated the 10th November 1868, and requesting him to consider those orders as his guide in the prosecution of his inquiries at Patna, and directing him to receive the account books found in Ellahie Bux's shop, and to inquire fully regarding

the entries in those books about Benares and Delhi; also to discover how money was remitted to the frontier from Patna, and to send me daily reports of his proceedings.

11. Shortly after Baboo Ishree Pershad's arrival at Patna, he ascertained on the 21st of January 1869 that Moulvy Mubarak Ali, who was already a prisoner in the Patna Jail, had presented a petition on the 22nd of November 1868 to the Post-Master of Patna, in which he states that he had despatched a registered letter containing the first halves of bank notes, to the address of Oomaid Ali of Delhi, on the 7th of May 1868, which had reached its destination; but that another registered letter which he had despatched on the 26th of May 1868, addressed to Moulvy Mahomed Ameen, had not reached; and he prayed that inquiries might be made for the missing letter.

12. Baboo Ishree Pershad came to me at Calcutta with a copy of this petition of Mubarak Ali, which he had obtained from the Post-Master, and he deserves credit for discovering that such a petition had been presented. The petition corroborated the statements already made regarding Moulvy Mubarak Ali, on which statements I had applied for his detention. I therefore considered it advisable that Baboo Ishree Pershad should proceed to Delhi and search the houses of Oomaid Ali and Mahomed Ameen, and directed him to do so, having obtained for him an advance of Rs. 300, under Government orders No. 529, dated the 25th January 1869. I may here remark that during the trial of Mubarak Ali at Patna, the Post-Master, Poorno Chunder, was examined, and he stated that the original petition had been destroyed according to the rules of the Post Office; and he was not told to keep the original petition. It is to be regretted that the original petition was not preserved, and that no inquiry was made at the time for the receipt of the registered covers which are signed by the addressee; the receipts would have rendered the link complete; but at that time the great object was to follow up the inquiry without delay and subsequently when I inquired for the original petition, and the receipts for the registered letter, I was told they have been destroyed.

13. Baboo Ishree Pershad reached Delhi on the 2nd of February 1869, and on the 5th of February Major Orchard, the District Superintendent of Police, obtained warrants from the Assistant Commissioner, and searched the houses of the merchants whose names appear in the account books of the shop managed by Khorshaid Ali, and also the house of Oomaid Ali, to whom the registered letter containing the first halves of the bank notes had been sent, as stated in Mubarak Ali's petition to the Post-Master of Patna. The entries in the account books of the merchants prove that they had received goods from the shop in Patna. In the house of the latter a great number of letters were found, which prove that Oomaid Ali was a Wahabee agent of Mubarak Ali with Mahomed Ameen at Delhi. On Oomaid Ali being taken before the Magistrate of Delhi, Mr. Carr Stephen, he made a full confession, which was recorded before that officer.

14. He admitted that he had received letters from Mubarak Ali of Patna, addressed to the Hindoostanees beyond the frontier. He admitted that he and Mahomed Ameen had forwarded these letters through cossids, whom he names — Tubarak Ali, Abdool Samud, Abdool Gunny, Mahomed Oosman,

Sabuktoollah, Ahmed Ali and Heydeatoollah. He also admits that he has received letters from the frontier for Mubarak Ali, which he made over to Tubarak Ali the son of Mubarak Ali, who is also called Kadir Bux. The *cossids* are said to have carried goldmohurs in *dosootee* bags tied round the waist. He states that the money is taken as far as Rawul Pindee by these *cossids*, and from thence beyond the frontier by *khuttries*. He told a strange story, which he could hardly have invented. He stated that one day, in the shop of Moulvy Mahomed Ameen, he met Sabuktoollah and another person. He asked Mahomed Ameen who the men were. At first he refused to tell him; but on his pressing Mahomed Ameen, he said that the two men had been sent by Feroze Shah with letters for the Deccan Rajahs, and they had returned from the Deccan. On asking why they had been to the Rajahs? Moulvy Mahomed Ameen replied they had taken letters from Feroze Shah to the Rajahs; the purport of the letters was reminding them of the promises they made at the period of the mutiny, and asking the Rajahs to send him money, and to join Feroze Shah at the River Hamoon (Oxus). The Rajahs had not sent any reply, nor had they sent money, but had burnt Feroze Shah's letters, and refused to make any promises. The letters had on them the seal of Feroze Shah, which is described as being almost a span in diameter. On it are the names of all the kings of the Timur family, and in the centre the name of Feroze Shah. This story proves that Moulvy Mahomed Ameen had entertained messengers, who had attempted to tamper with the Deccan chiefs, and that Feroze Shah had some hopes of obtaining the aid of the Rajahs. The letters were brought from Feroze Shah for his brother Izdah Bux, a *shahzadah*, or son of the late King of Delhi. Izdah Bux was examined before the Magistrate. He keeps a shop, and any one in Delhi may buy a yard of calico from one of the princes of Delhi. "So passes away the glory of this world." His statement is as follows:-

"About ten or twelve months ago, Kari Oomaid Ali came to my house, and said two mussulmen have come from your brother Mirzah Feroze Shah, and are asking for you; if you wish I shall bring them here or take them anywhere you may wish to meet them. I said to Kari, do not bring them here, but I shall go to Moulvy Mahomed Nazir Hossein of *Futuck Hubas Khan* tomorrow, and I would meet the *cossids* on the road. In the morning we met. I do not know the name of the *cossids*; they gave me a bag of letters, and said the letters were for Rajahs and one for me. They said, take these letters and deliver them to the Rajahs; and besides we have something else to say, shall we say it here or elsewhere? I said, I cannot deliver these letters, for I am engaged in my own business and two of my children are ill, and I have no time; and I am deeply engaged in the business of my shop. The *cossids* said, if you do this work you will rise in the world. I replied, I cannot do this business. You came here on this work, you better do what is required; for I live under the government, and it will go ill with me and my children. I returned the letters to them after dark. I do not know where they went, and when they left. The bag remained with me from the morning to the evening. I sent for the *cossids* to my house in the evening, and gave them the bag. Nazir Hossein did not see the bag."

This statement corroborated the evidence of Oomaid Ali as regards the letters from Feroze Shah. Izdah Bux admitted to Major Orchard, when he was arrested, that Moulvy Nazir Hossein was present when the letters were made over to him, though he denied the circumstance in his statement recorded before the magistrate. Izdah Bux was detained in jail by the authorities of the Punjab.

15. Izdah Bux having at first named Moulvy Nazir Hossein, and Oomaid Ali having stated that Nazir Hossein was present when Feroze Shah's cossids made the letters over to Izdah Bux; and it appearing that Nazir Hossein was the actual leader at Delhi, though a native of Soorujgurrah in zillah Monghyr, his house was searched by the police, and a number of suspicious letters were found on him. These letters are mysteriously worded, dealing in signs and allusions, such as men would be expected to use when writing on a dangerous subject. The purport of the letters, I considered, justified my applying to the Magistrate of Delhi for the detention of Moulvy Nazir Hossein. He was detained under bail for some months, and was subsequently released by the Punjab Government. Amongst his papers, letters were found from one Mahomed Jaffer, a prisoner sentenced to transportation during the Wahabee trial at Umballah, sending salutations from the Wahabee prisoners at port Blair, viz., Moulvies Yahiya Ali, and Ahmedoollah, and Abdool Guffoor. Letters were found from Tubaruk Ali and his father Mubarak Ali, both convicted recently by the Judge of Patna. A letter from Mubarak Ali deserves notice, as it is corroborated by the evidence of witnesses who were examined in the trial of Ibrahim Mundul at Rajmehal. The letter was found on Moulvy Nazir Hossein in February 1869. It is as follows:-

"Rehamuttollah alias Abdool Hakeem, of the city of Dacca, was one of your pupils. When he married in that city, he went from place to place to realize his dowry which was due. By chance he went to his own city, and collected Rs. 300 towards the payment of dowry, and there he died. When dying, he requested that the money may be sent to Nazir Hossein of Delhi, through persons going there, that he may give the same to his wife, and tell her, for God's sake, to consider that sum sufficient and to forgive the remainder. By so doing, God will bless, and men will speak well. He said that he had left several books with the Moulvy; for this reason I write to you, that you may write back the facts of this case; that his wishes may be attended to, and that he may be released from his sins, and I may share in this good act." Abdool Kyoom sends his salaams in the same letter. The copy of the reply to this letter from Mubarak Ali was also found. It is as follows:-

"Your letter regarding Abdool Hakeem, deceased, has been received. But so long as news is not received from his wife who is at Baroda, and another at Surat, how can the money of the dowry be sent to the wives? I have written, but no answer has been received. On receiving reply I will write. Salaam to Kadir Bux."

16. On the 3rd of November 1870, a witness named Abdool Hakeem was examined before Mr. Weed, the Deputy Commissioner of Rajmehal, and he

stated "Abdool Hakeem *alias* Rahamuttoollah was my *oostad*, or teacher; he came to my house five or six years ago; he fell ill, and when dangerously ill at the Jagoree *musjid*, he called me and said, I make over to you my books and papers. Some of them are with Ibrahim Mundul of Islampore, go and tell him I have made them over to you. I went to Ibrahim Mundul and gave him Rahamuttoollah's message. He said I have some books of his; also some money, I don't recollect whether he told me how much money he had, and offered the same to me. But I declined, saying I had no need for the money. He gave me five or six books, and I gave him a receipt for the same. Before my *oostad* died, he told me he had left Rs. 300 with Ibrahim Mundul. This money he said he had collected on account of a *Dain Mohur* for his wife. The *Dain Mohur* was for Rs. 400 but he had collected from time to time Rs. 300 in all, and had placed the same with Ibrahim Mundul. I went to Ibrahim Mundul after my *oostad* died. He wished to make the money over to me, but I declined to receive it. I said you better do with the money as my *oostad* desired. Send the money for the widow at Baroda to Nazir Hossein of Delhi, who will see that it reaches her safely."

17. Another witness, named Hematoollah Sheik, stated before the Deputy Commissioner — "I have seen Moulvy Fyaz Ali, Abdool Gunny, and Rahamuttoollah Khan at Ibrahim Mundul's house. The latter died at Ibrahim Mundul's house; he had been bitten by a mad dog at Patna; he did not think much of it at the time; he fell ill at Islampore and died there. I saw him there, and went to his burial. This was about eight years ago. I recollect Ibrahim Mundul going to Patna with Nassir Sirdar and Gooran Khan." It is a significant fact that letters found on Moulvy Nazir Hossein at Delhi should be corroborated by evidence found at Rajmehal. Moulvy Rahamuttoollah was a native of Dacca, and he married at Dacca; and his widow is still at Dacca; why should he go about from place to place to collect his dowry money? and why should the money be sent to Baroda and Surat? It is not the custom amongst Mahomedans to collect dowry by begging from place to place. It is more than probable that the pretended widows at Baroda and Surat mean the Wahabee colony and Moulvy Abdoollah its leader. This man, Moulvy Rahamuttoollah, was a Wahabee missionary and a *co ssid*. We hear of him at Delhi; we hear of him at Patna, where he was bit by a mad dog; and we find him at last at Islampore, where he deposits Rs. 400 of the *jehad* collections, which Moulvy Rahamuttoollah had spent on his own account, and hence his praying on his death-bed, "for God's sake to consider that sum sufficient and to forgive the remainder;" We then trace this money to Mubarak Ali, who writes about it to Moulvy Nazir Hossein, thus establishing the connection between that Moulvy and the conspirators. Ibrahim Mundul and Mubarak Ali were both convicted in the recent trials. I consider Moulvy Nazir Hossein as the most dangerous enemy the Government has at Delhi. He is a learned man, and commands influence throughout India. Abdool Gunny, the *co ssid*, the most zealous emissary of Abdoollah, the leader of the Wahabees, was his cousin. I would suggest that Moulvy Nazir Hossein should be kept under strict police surveillance; he is deep and designing, and nothing of importance is done by the Wahabees without his advice and sanction.

18. Major Orchard, the District Superintendent of Police of Delhi finding that Moulvy Sadut Ali of Saharunpore was named by Oomaid Ali as connected with the Wahabees, obtained a search warrant from the Magistrate of Delhi, and went up to Saharunpore with Baboo Ishree Pershad, and searched the house of the Moulvy. Letters were found on the Moulvy which proved that Sadut Ali had corresponded with several Wahabee agents. These letters did not afford sufficient evidence to detain the Moulvy in jail, and he was released, and died not long after; the Mahomedan community thus losing one of its zealous agents, as he was mainly instrumental in building the Jumma Musjid at Saharunpore, and under cover of which building large funds have been collected all over India, and remitted to the camp of the fanatics. It is generally reported amongst the Mahomedans that the *musjid* is intended for the use of Feroze Shah when he returns to India as a conqueror. The jumma musjid at Delhi, it is said was built by *forced labor*,* while the one at Saharunpore has been built by voluntary contributions, and has never been polluted by the *kafir* as the Jumma Musjid at Delhi was during the mutiny. While searching the house of Moulvy Sadut Ali at Saharunpore, the District Superintendent of Police arrested two Bengalees, who were residing in a musjid adjoining Sadut Ali's house. One of them, named Abdool Sumad, was released, because Oomaid Ali could not identify him; but there is no doubt that he was one of the crescentaders who had returned from the rebel camp. The second, Abdoollah, had a wound on his arm; he is a native of Rungpore, and he was identified by Oomaid Ali, who declared that he had seen this man repeatedly with the *crossids*, specially with Abdul Gunny. He gave a most improbable account of himself. He stated that he came towards the frontier about six years ago, on his way to Cabul, where "he heard the *maywah*, or fruits were good." That he was wounded in the Khyber by thieves. He admits he had been with the Hindoostanees, under Moulvy Abdoollah. This man was properly detained as a prisoner, until released under order of the Government of India in 1870. It will be observed that, when Moulvy Hossein's premises were searched, two Bengalees, natives of Mymensing were found in his *musjid*. In the same manner Abdool Sumad and Ataoollah, also Bengalees, natives of Rungpore, were found at Saharanpore, in Sadut Ali's *musjid*. There are many instances in which Bengalees have been found in *musjids* in Upper India under the protection of Moulvies, who pass them off as *talabillims*, or students. These men, when traced, have been invariably found as either returning from or proceeding to the frontier.

19. With respect to Oomaid Ali, Moulvy Nazir Hossein, Izdah Bux, and Ataoollah, I cannot do better than quote the report of the Magistrate, Mr. Carr Stephen, dated the 19th March 1869, addressed to the Deputy Commissioner of Delhi:

"Oomaid Ali admits having been an active Wahabee agent for the last twenty years; that since the mutiny he had helped the Hindoostanee exiles at Sittanah; with a clear knowledge of their intrigues against our

[* This is an incorrect statement. —M.M. Ali.]

Government, and till within the last seven or eight months he was one of the means of communication between the Wahabee agents of Bengal and those of the North-Western Frontier. Oomaid Ali may be described, in the language of the Bengal Government, as "an inferior agent;" his confession has thrown much light on the present state of the Wahabee organization. I would suggest that a copy of his examination be forwarded to every District Superintendent of Police in the Punjab, as I have reason to believe it will be done in Bengal. To ensure his further co-operation in the inquiry, which is still being prosecuted elsewhere, I have admitted Oomaid Ali as Queen's evidence in the case. It was on his information that Izdah Bux, Nazir Hossein, and Ataoollah, were arrested; and I am not without hope that he will yet aid in the apprehension of the frontier *cossids*. In making choice of him as an approver, I have had the benefit of Mr. Reily's and Ishree Pershad's experience of Wahabee trials in Lower Bengal. Should Oomaid Ali cease to co-operate with us, there is enough in his confession, and the letters against him, under section 123 of the Indian Penal Code."

"Izdah Bux admits having received a letter from Feroze Shah, and having had charge of similar letters addressed to native chiefs; he states however that the latter he only retained for a day, and that he returned them to the *cossids* with a denial of assistance. Oomaid Ali persists in his disbelief of Izdah Bux's account of the return of the letter to the *cossids*. Izdah Bux has, however, confessed enough to justify a good deal more being believed against him. In my opinion the only section of the Penal Code applicable to his case is the 123rd, but from the difficulty which I apprehend will arise in the trial, I would not recommend his prosecution. We shall have to prove "a design of war", and then that such concealment as Izdat Bux has been guilty of would "likely facilitate that design." Even Oomaid Ali does not invest the word *mudud* (assistance, help) with that dangerous significance, which it must bear before we can justly infer from Feroze Shah's correspondence, that there was a serious design to wage war against the Queen. How the alleged non-delivery of the letters to the addressees would affect the provision of section 123 is a consideration beset with peculiar difficulties. If Izdah Bux had no knowledge of a design to wage war, he can hardly be tried for the more serious offence described in section 121 of the Penal Code."

"Ataoollah has been to Khyber. He states that on his way to Cabul he was wounded. He has also visited the Hindoostanees at Sittanah; the object of his errand, though morally evident, will in a Court of judicial trial have to be proved by legal testimony. He has lived among our enemies; he has suffered for them; he has left his home in Bengal to visit them in Hazara; but neither one nor all the facts now alleged against him would constitute an offence for which he could be punished."

"Moulvy Nazir Hossein denies both the knowledge and possession of some of the most condemnatory letters which were found in his house. We can prove possession against him; and knowledge may safely be inferred. Some of the selected letters now submitted are of a highly

suspicious character; they contain seditious counsel disguised in figures of speech; but it would be difficult, if not impossible, to establish their real purport in a court of justice. From all that I have seen of his letters, and the respect in which he is held by his correspondents, the Moulvy is evidently a man of importance as a Wahabee preacher; but, like some of his proto-types, he has taught treason in parables. I have weighed the suspicious expressions in his letters with great care, and though, morally speaking, I entertain no doubt as to their seditious character, I cannot deny that they are susceptible of an explanation not inconsistent with the hypothesis [sic] of the Moulvy's innocence. If you travel out of his letters, you have no evidence of any crime, or complicity in crime, against him; while a trial, which would only rest on his correspondence, is certain to end in an acquittal."

20. In Delhi, besides Oomaid Ali it was ascertained that his chief assistant was Moulvy Mahomed Ameer, *alias* Abiadooollah, *alias* Ameenooddin, who had left Delhi on hearing of the arrest of Mubarak Ali. I found that he was a native of Backergunge, and had married the daughter of Azimooddin of Dacca, and was intimately connected with Budderooddin, *alias* Sheik Bhuttoo, a well-known hide merchant and notorious Wahabee in the city of Dacca. I at once applied to the Magistrate of Dacca and Mymensing for his arrest. He was subsequently arrested at Backergunge, and was detained in the Hooghly Jail, until he was tried at Patna and convicted by the Sessions Judge of Patna.

21. It was also discovered from Oomaid Ali, and from the papers found on him, that Tubaruk Ali *alias* Kadir Bux, son of Mubarak Ali of Patna, was also an agent at Delhi, who carried on the *jehad* work jointly with Oomaid Ali, and Ameenooddin. The Inspector-General of Police, on receiving this information from Baboo Ishree Pershad's diary, applied to Government for a warrant against Tubaruk Ali, and sent the same to the Magistrate of Patna, who informed me by a telegram sent to me at Delhi on the 12th February 1869, that Tubaruk Ali had been arrested and sent to the Deegah Jail; and the papers of Peer Mahomed had been detained for examination." A letter from the Magistrate of Patna to the Inspector-General of Police, dated the 12th February 1869, acknowledges the receipt of the Inspector-General's letter No. A, enclosing the Lieutenant-Governor's warrant for the detention of Tubaruk Ali, stating "I am glad to report that Tubaruk Ali, was accordingly arrested this morning by Mr. Fisher, the Officiating District Superintendent, and has been forwarded to the Deegah jail. He was found in the house of his father-in-law Peer Mahomed. The papers of the latter have also been brought away, and will be examined at leisure." The papers found in Peer Mahomed's house were taken to the Joint-Magistrate of Patna, and kept under lock and key; that officer employed the extra assistant Ellahie Bux to examine them — only two important letters were found. The Joint-Magistrate of Patna informed me concerning these two papers, saying "they were important, and he feared to send them by post." One of the letters professed to be written by Ameer Khan, and his son-in-law Arsad Ali Khan, addressed to Peer Mahomed; it alludes to three notes for Rs. 3,000 sent for despatch *oosturuf*, or in that direction. It

named two Hindoos, Gopal Sing and Goorwar Sing, also promising "to send 600 crops of wheat, and *zurd busta*, or yellow bags, for the same direction." It will be seen that this letter was reported to me as having been found amongst Peer Mahomed's papers, while they were being examined by the extra assistant Ellahie Bux in the Joint-Magistrate's house. I therefore never had any suspicion regarding the genuineness of the letter till during the Patna trial Baboo Ishree Pershad produced some similar letters which he said were written by Boodhun Lall, (but could not satisfactorily explain how these similar letters came into his possession), but stated that he believed from the similarity of the writing and the paper that the letters said to have been found amongst Peer Mahomed's papers were written by Bhoodhun Lall. These similar letters, I recollect Baboo Ishree Pershad shewed me before, but he never hinted that the letter found amongst Peer Mahomed's papers was suspicious. I was therefore all along under the belief that the letter found amongst Peer Mahomed's papers was a genuine document, and it was quoted by Baboo Ishree Pershad and myself in the briefs which were drawn up at the request of His Honor the Lieutenant-Governor, detailing the evidence against Ameer Khan. But when Baboo Ishree Pershad expressed his doubts on the subject at Patna, both Mr. O'Kinealy and I agreed that the letter should not be filed in the prosecution, and consequently it was not filed. On questioning Boodhun Lall, he brought a counter-charge against Baboo Ishree Pershad, and a police constable named Goopi. If any person forged the letter, and had it surreptitiously placed amongst Peer Mahomed's letters, it was calculated to cause serious injury to the prosecution; if, on the other hand, it was a genuine document, the prosecution was deprived of important evidence implicating both Peer Mahomed and Ameer Khan. In June 1871, while the trial was pending at Patna, some correspondence passed between me and Mr. O'Kinealy about these letters found amongst Peer Mahomed's papers, in which I proposed to make a searching inquiry about them *after the prosecution had been disposed of*, but Mr. O'Kinealy gave me an order to make no inquiries.

22. Baboo Ishree Pershad, in his diary of the 15th March 1869, reported "that he did not entertain any hope of obtaining any further clue at Delhi," and that there was no necessity for his remaining any longer at Delhi. He proceeded to Umballah; but from his two diaries dated from thence the 21st of March to the 5th of April 1869, it would appear that he was not able to collect any information in that place, though he visited Thanessur and Kasla. He reached Allahabad on the 10th of April 1869. On the 14th April, he assisted in the search of the house of one Habeeoollah; but it appears the police had selected the house of another Habeeoollah, while the right man of that name, who lived near the house of one Moulvy Rahamutoollah, escaped search. On the 16th of April 1869, Baboo Ishree Pershad returned to Patna, and I addressed him the following letter, No. 15, dated 20th April 1869:-

"You are so well and intimately acquainted with Patna, that I have no doubt you will succeed in discovering evidence against the persons who have been arrested.

"Peer Mahomed's house at Dinapore was searched at your request, and the Magistrate and Joint-Magistrate both wish you to go through the

papers which have been found on him, to see what evidence they will disclose against Peer Mahomed and others. I am confident you will perform this duty to their satisfaction.

"Regarding Tubaruk Ali, beyond the statement of Oomaid Ali, and the letters which have been since found, we have not sufficient evidence against him to warrant a conviction were he prosecuted. I request therefore you will see what further evidence can be found as regards the part he has played in the Wahabee movement. I should wish you to do the same as regards Mubarak Ali and Koorshaid Ali. Murtuzah names Ahmed Ali at Peshawar as one of the chief agents for transmitting money across the frontier. I think you should make inquiries regarding this man, and if you can find him, have him arrested. The letters which have been found on Peer Mahomed implicate Ameer Khan, who was suspected during the last investigation in 1864. I trust you will succeed in finding sufficient evidence to justify our applying to the Magistrate to have him arrested.

"You should examine the books of the bankers who were in the habit of granting *hoondees* to Mubarak Ali during the last two years, and also what part the Hindoos have taken in assisting the Wahabees, particularly Nundolall and others.

"It is not necessary for me to send you detailed instructions as you are acquainted with the case and the intentions of Government; you will send me your diaries regularly to Calcutta."

23. Baboo Ishree Pershad reported that he had ascertained that "Gopal Sing and Goorwar Sing, the two Hindoos who are mentioned in the alleged letter of Ameer Khan found on Peer Mahomed," are Rajpoots, residents of Baroohe, and they were formerly ticcadars of the villages of Ahmedoollah, & c." In diary No. 19, Baboo Ishree Pershad further states, that "in my diary No. 17 I have reported that Gopal Sing and Goorwar Sing mentioned in the letter found on Peer Mahomed of Dinapore are supposed to be the Rajpoots of Gobindpore Baroohe. It has now been ascertained that Guneshee Mahto, to Nawabgunge, mentioned in that letter, is a *gowallah* resident of city Patna, mohullah Nawabgunge, thannah Malsalamee. From his character, which is known to us, we believe that he is the person referred to in the letter. He is a rich *gowallah*, has some landed property, and is said to have always been a well-wisher of the Sadickpore moulvies, as Moulvy Ahmedoollah had helped him in cases about his lands. He is said to have gone to Calcutta often. No trace is discovered of Turhoon Mahto and Jeen Mahto mentioned in the said letter. I suppose they are friends of Guneshee Mahto."

"I am endeavouring to ascertain through some person whether Guneshee Mahto could be persuaded to come forward and state what is said about them and the money in the letter in question."

24. On the 21st April 1869, Baboo Ishree Pershad went to Dinapore "to see the men who promised to assist him." In his diary No. 20, Baboo Ishree Pershad sums up the evidence against Peer Mahomed; and the Magistrate and the Joint-Magistrate of Patna gave their opinions as follows:-

"I have read this diary, and both from it, and from other information, I have no doubt whatever as to Peer Mahomed being a leader of Wahabees, and one of the most influential of them in these parts. I quite think that, in accordance with the recorded policy of the Government, it is time that he should be arrested, and kept in safe custody under Regulation III of 1818."

C.S. BAYLEY,
Magistrate.

"I have been asked to give an opinion on the tendency of the teaching of these books. They are the oldest books of the list, and, as far back as thirty years ago, were circulated through Bombay and Madras, unsettling the minds of the people; since then they have gone through several editions.

The doctrines taught are-

1st.- That during the present century (13th Hejira) India will be in the hands of infidel oppressors.

2nd.- That these men will be driven out by the Mahomedans and a new *caliphate*, similar to the rule of the four successors of the prophet, will ensue.

3rd.- That Syed Ahmed is the *caliph*, and, as a necessary consequence, that all Mahomedans should join him in the holy war against us.

4th.- That this country has become the *darool-hureb* or country of the enemy, and hence no Mahomedan can read his usual prayers on Friday, or *mursya*; in short, that the only way of living decently in this life, and escaping divine punishment in the next, is to leave India and go to some country held by Mussulman power."

J.O'KINEALY.

25. With my letter No. 147, dated the 13th May 1869, I submitted Baboo Ishree Pershad's diary No. 20 to the Inspector-General of Police, with the following observations:-

"The diary contains the result of the Deputy Magistrate's enquiries regarding Peer Mahomed of Dinapore, who is rich, and who is generally reported to be a Wahabee. His daughter is the wife of Tubaruk Ali, who is confined in the jail at Deegah. Tubaruk Ali is the son of Mubarak Ali, the leader of the Wahabees, who is in jail at Bankipore."

"Ishree Pershad founds his charges against Peer Mahomed on certain suspicious entries in account books found on him, and also on two letters addressed to Peer Mahomed and found in his house. These two letters are from Ameer Khan, a well-known Wahabee, residing at Colootollah in Calcutta, (whose name appears in No. 42 of the Selections, pages 156 and 159). The letters referred to sums of money sent to Peer Mahomed

intended to be sent (quoting the word) *oosturuf*. The Deputy Magistrate also enters into the *sedition* writings in two books found on Peer Mahomed. The Joint-Magistrate, Mr. O'Kinealy, has given his opinion respecting these books, which is attached to Ishree Pershad's diary.

"The evidence against Peer Mahomed, though it may not be considered conclusive, yet in my opinion there is strong circumstantial evidence against him."

"The Magistrate of Patna has, however, recorded on Ishree Pershad's diary that, in his opinion, "it is time that Peer Mahomed should be arrested and kept in safe custody, under Regulation III of 1818." The Magistrate refers to *other information* he has, that Peer Mahomed is a leader of Wahabees, and one of the most influential of the sect in Patna."

"I beg therefore to support the opinion recorded by the Magistrate of Patna, and to suggest that application may be made to Government to order the detention of Peer Mahomed in the jail at Bhaugulpore, because the jails at Deegah and Bankipore hold Tubaruk Ali and Mubarak Ali, and it is advisable to keep those men separate."

26. The Inspector-General of Police in his letter to Government, No. 3139, dated 15th May 1869, observed; "I feel averse to making any recommendation at variance with the opinion of the Magistrate on the spot, and of an officer of Mr. Reily's experience; but in the absence of anything amounting to proof against Peer Mahomed, his detention might be considered as somewhat a severe measure. It might, perhaps, be better that the Magistrate should question Peer Mahomed on the subject of the suspicious entries in the book referred to, before finally deciding on the necessity for his detention."

27. The Government then directed that further enquiries should be made through the Commissioner of the division in letter No. 3450, dated 18th May 1869. The Commissioner of Patna made the following return:

"I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter No. 3150 of the 18th ultimo, and enclosures, regarding the suspected Wahabee traitor, Peer Mahomed of Dinapore."

"The correspondence under reply has not been sent into my office, but was made over by me direct to Mr. Bayley, the Magistrate, for report."

"Enclosed I have the honor to forward, in original, the confidential reply I have just received, and, under the circumstances reported, beg to recommend that Peer Mahomed be arrested and imprisoned under the Act (Regulation) III of 1818."

"It is generally known that this man's only means of livelihood is derived from the share of the Wahabee contributions, which, as tehsildar, (or collector of subscriptions) he is entitled to appropriate to his own use. This circumstance, added to the fact that Tubaruk Ali, a Wahabee cossid, now in confinement in the Deegah jail under Government orders, is Peer Mahomed's son-in-law, and resided with him, is I think sufficient to warrant a moral conviction that Peer Mahomed is the traitor he is alleged to be, and shou' no longer be left at large."

"I have seen Baboo Ishree Pershad, Deputy Magistrate, and Mr. Reily, Special Deputy Inspector-General of Police, with regard to this Peer Mahomed, and concur with both these gentlemen that his arrest and imprisonment will go far to break up the secret machinations of this mischievous set of rebels."

Letter from Magistrate of Patna

"I have delayed replying to your note on Government letter No. 3450 of 18th May, as Ishree Pershad was working a clue which I hoped would bring Peer Mahomed's agency out with more conspicuous light. The clue was obtained through the bank khazanchee, who gave the names of the firm where Peer Mahomed was in the habit of purchasing goldmohurs. Unfortunately these cash transactions are not entered in their books, and though the fact is readily admitted by the partners of the firm (they are Hindoos), there is no evidence to the extent of the transactions, except the verbal statement of a late servant of the firm.

"Another clue has been obtained through one Mirza Wazid Beg. His connection with the affair came out incidentally, owing to his uncle, at that time engaged in litigation with one Boodhoo Khan, getting hold of a letter addressed to him by a relation of his, one Hadjee Deen Mahomed (a *cossid* to the frontier) which he held *in terrorem* over him till he came to terms, and the terms were settled by two mooktears of the court. This man's statement names four leaders at Dinapore, and mentions Peer Mahomed as the "sirdar tehsildar." I have not taken his deposition myself, as it would probably be premature, but I have read his statement as taken down by the Deputy Magistrate Ishree Pershad."

"The other information which induced me to think it time to put the law in force against Peer Mahomed was that I knew him to be suspected in 1857, and that on my arrival here before the Detective Department commenced the present operations in Patna, his house was pointed out to me as that of the principal Wahabee in Dinapore. I annex Colonel Emerson's remarks on this subject. "Peer Mahomed has throughout been regarded with suspicion in connection with the movements of the Wahabees. I am aware that in 1857, though looked upon by Taylor as one of the small fry, as he called them, he was constantly mentioned as a likely individual to join in any intrigue with those opposed to the British Government; but though he was watched, and his premises were searched at that period, nothing really tangible, that I am aware of, was ever brought home to him. I have always had my eye upon the man, and I have done my utmost, through private sources to obtain information regarding the part he has always had the credit of taking in sending money, and by other means rendering assistance to the Wahabee conspirators up-country, but without any satisfactory result."

"This, and the fact of Tubarak Ali, a known Wahabee *cossid*, and carrier of goldmohurs, who also fought against us at Sittannah, being his son-in-law and residing with him, coupled with the suspicious entries

and the possession of Wahabee books, which is detailed in Ishree Pershad's diaries, satisfied me that if the policy of working Regulation III of 1818, against Wahabee leaders on suspicion, and without first proving a case against them in court, was worth carrying out at all, Peer Mahomed's was a sufficiently strong case to call for its application."

"I do not think there is a case to go into court with, but I think that there is enough to satisfy a reasonable mind of the man's complicity with the Wahabees."

"The special advantage which I anticipated from having him arrested lay in the fact that, if the information of the Detective Department is correct, he is almost the only agent left here through whom collections are forwarded to the frontier. It appears, however, that since his books were seized, he has been very quiet." On receipt of the communication from the Commissioner of Patna, and its enclosure, a warrant addressed to the officer in charge of the Patna Jail, for the detention of Peer Mahomed of Dinapore, under the provisions of Regulation III of 1818, was sent with Government letter No. 3592, dated the 12th June 1869.

28. In the beginning of May 1869, in diary No. 21, Baboo Ishree Pershad reported what was currently reported all over Patna. I had heard it from Captain Hedayut Ali and others. The Baboo writes- "I have been informed that one Boodhoo Khan of Dinapore, who belongs to the Wahabee sect, had obtained a decree in the Principal Sudder Ameen's court for Rs. 6,000 against Jhugroo Khan of Dinapore. Jhugroo having got possession of some letters relating to the remittance to the fanatics, in which Boodhoo Khan was concerned, threatened him, and proposed to give back the letter on his acknowledging the payment of the decree in the court. I hear that Boodhoo has acknowledged the payment of the decree, and the papers have been returned to Jhugroo. Two mooktears of the Magistrate's court, Umjud Ali and Noorool Hossein, were consulted in the matter by both parties." Since the receipt of money in satisfaction of the decree was filed in open court, and it was well known that Jhugroo was an insolvent, the matter was noised over the city, and it was openly stated that the acknowledgment of payment was forced from the decree-holder, because the debtor had threatened to produce letters implicating the decree-holder and others in the Wahabee conspiracy."

29. In June 1869, in diary No. 25, Baboo Ishree Pershad reported:-

"I am exceedingly glad to report the success I met in working up the clue about a case being compromised in the Patna civil court on account of a letter regarding the Wahabee remittance to the frontier. The parties in the case were Boodhoo Khan, decree-holder, and Jhugroo, judgment-debtor. By the cordial exertion and friendly assistance of one native doctor, named Meer Ahmed Ali, who has private practice at Dinapore, and with whom I have old acquaintance, my inquiries proceeded with good results. Through the doctor I first became acquainted with Mirza Wazid Beg, about whom I reported in my diary No. 24; then with Mungloo, through whom the letter in question came in the possession of Jhugroo, the judgment-debtor, and at last with Jhugroo and his brother

Hingun. The deposition of these four men I have got recorded by Colonel Emerson, the Cantonment Magistrate of Dinapore, copies of which I herewith submit. They have admitted every thing. It is useless for me to detail their statements. It will be seen from the depositions enclosed, that Peer Mahomed was the principal person who got back the letter in question from Jhugroo, and made arrangement for the liquidation of Jhugroo's large amount of debt due to Boodhoo."

"The principal collectors of the Wahabee funds and other leading members of the Wahabee congregation at Dinapore are disclosed. The connection of Ameer Khan and Hushmutdad Khan, the rich and influential hide merchants, who have long been chief characters in aiding and helping the Sadickpore moulvy's family, and who subscribe large amounts for *jehad*, is well elucidated by the above statements."

"There are other things also against the Pathan family of Allam-gunge, namely, Ameer Khan, Jorawur Khan, and Hashmutdad Khan."

1st.- "Some years back when Moulvy Vilayet Ali and Inayut Ali were arrested in the Punjab and sent to Patna, a man of Ameer Khan's family had stood security for them. The record is procurable."

2nd.- "In the last trial of Moulvy Yahya Ali at Umballah, remittances through Ameer Khan were traced. The book of Ameer Khan then seized will support it."

3rd.- "The account sheets, Nos. 7 and 10, for 1273 *Hejira*, found in Peer Mahomed's papers, which show in debits many items of large amounts received from Hushmutdad Khan and Ameer Khan. Nothing is said on what account these amounts were received by Peer Mahomed."

4th.- "A letter found on Peer Mahomed which shows that money used to come from Ameer Khan, & c., to him, for the purpose of being remitted to the frontier."

"After examining Mirza Wazid and Jhugroo, & c., and persuing the papers received from Rawul Pindee, on my request Colonel Emerson issued warrants for the arrest of Hajee Deen Mahomed and Boodhoo Khan. They both are arrested. Boodhoo is released on bail. It is said that Hajee Deen Mahomed has lately returned from the West. I feel inclined to suppose that he is the man who escaped from Rawul Pindee and was called there Syed Hossein Ali."

30. In the evidence recorded before the Cantonment Magistrate, Jhugroo stated "that large sums of money are sent to Peer Mahomed by Hushmutdad Khan and Ameer Khan, who are great hide merchants, for transmission to the West for *jehad*." Hingun Sheik stated that "even now moneys are sent up from Patna to Peer Mahomed by Hushmutdad Khan, Zorawur Khan, Ameer Khan, and others, who are extensive hide merchants, and have store-rooms in Calcutta. Ellahie Bux is the *gomastah* of Hushmutdad Khan. My business has always brought me in communication with these people, and in this manner I know all about them. ["] Mungloo stated that "the persons who send up the *fitrah*, *zekat*, & c. from Patna, are Hushmutdad Khan and Ameer Khan, and they all send to Peer Mahomed's place." Wazid, the fourth witness, examined stated: "Money is also sent from Patna by Hushmutdad Khan and Ameer Khan

to Peer Mahomed. The name of the place where the fighting men are assembled is called by the Wahabees *Goolshun*; but this is only a name. The remittances are spoken of by the senders as so much tobacco. A maund represents Rs. 1,000." This information regarding Hushmutdad Khan and Ameer Khan and others was on oath before a Magistrate, and the Magistrate of Patna having recorded his opinion that the depositions were "thoroughly trustworthy, and afford sufficient grounds for applying for warrants of detention against the persons mentioned therein," I sent Baboo Ishree Pershad's diary in original with the remarks of the Magistrate of Patna, and copies of the evidence of the four person [sic] recorded before Colonel Emerson, the Cantonment Magistrate of Dinapore, with my letter No. 195, dated the 25th June 1869, which was forwarded to Government with the Inspector-General's memorandum No. A, dated the 26th June 1869, with a recommendation that the measures proposed by the Magistrate of Patna be carried out without delay. The Inspector-General also remarked that "Baboo Ishree Pershad's success is very gratifying, and he has shown more than his usual skill in tracing out an important and difficult case." In my letter I wrote as follows:-

"The evidence of the four men examined before the Magistrate of Dinapore proves that the men named by them form a band of Wahabee conspirators. These men, with Peer Mahomed at their head, have been recently sending money to the place beyond the frontier where the *jehadees* are assembled, and which they now call *Goolshun*. The two maunds of tobacco represent Rs. 2,000."

"In so important a place as Dinapore, where native regiments are quartered, I think it advisable that the whole band of Wahabees should be secured at once. The evidence against them is clear; they have recently remitted money to men who openly profess to be the enemies of the British Government, and to the success of the present inquiries both here and in the Punjab; it appears to me urgent that every one of them should be detained in jail under the provisions of Regulation III of 1818. I urge this measure, because I feel certain it will enable us to obtain other evidence to trace the means — the agents through whom money is sent to *Goolshun*."

"It will be seen from the remarks of the Magistrate of Patna on Baboo Ishree Pershad's diary, that in this opinion the depositions "are thoroughly trustworthy, and afford sufficient ground for applying for warrants of detention against the persons named therein."

"It is satisfactory that the evidence of these men render the case against Peer Mahomed stronger, and I beg to suggest that warrants of detention may be issued against each of the men, viz:-

1. Hajee Deen Mahomed, of Dinapore.
2. Boodhoo Khan, of Dinapore.
3. Abdool Rohoman, of Dinapore.
4. Kurreem Bux, of Dinapore.
5. Meajee Khoda Bux, of Dinapore.
6. Bhudye Khan, of Dinapore.

7. Ali Hossein, vakeel of Dinapore.
8. Ellahie Bux, gomastah of Hushmutdad Khan.
9. Umdoo Khan, of Dinapore.
10. Sookhoo, of Dinapore.
11. Ameer Khan, of Colootollah.
12. Hushmutdad Khan, of Patna."

"The evidence is clear against Ameer Khan, the hide merchant of Colootollah, a resident of Patna. This man was suspected and kept under bail during the inquiries in 1864. His name appears in page 156 of the Government Selections, No. 42. So long as this influential man remains at large, we will not succeed in putting a stop to the remittances of money to the frontier. I may mention that when Peer Mahomed's house was searched, a letter from Ameer Khan was found relating to a remittance of Rs. 3,000 to be sent *oosturuf*, and promising to send *zurd bustah* hereafter. It is not usual in letters of business to allude to a place as *oosturuf* or that direction, and it is well known what *zurd busta* means. I am well acquainted with Ameer Khan's character, and I believe him to be the most fanatical Wahabee in India. As a matter of precaution, I would recommend his detention in the jail at Gya."

"As remarked by the Magistrate of Patna, Baboo Ishree Pershad deserves great credit for the patient and successful manner in which he has worked out this clue, and I beg his services may be noticed by the Inspector-General."

31. With Government letter No. 4364, dated the 6th July 1869, warrants were sent to Commissioner of Patna, against the twelve men named above; of these, Hadjee Deen Mahomed and Boodhoo Khan had been previously arrested. Meajee Khoda Bux, Bhudye Khan, Ali Hossein vakeel, and Sookhoo Khan, were secured at Patna; and as Ameer Khan and Hushmutdad Khan were at that time in Calcutta, the warrants for their detention were sent to me with the following endorsement from the Joint-Magistrate of Patna:-

"Made over to J.H. Reily, Special Deputy Inspector-General of Police, Bengal, for execution by arrest, of the within named, in communication with the Deputy Commissioner of Police, Calcutta."

Patna, 9th July 1869.

W.M. SOUTTAR,
Offg. Joint-Magistrate of Patna.

With these warrants I went to the Deputy Commissioner of Police, Calcutta, on the 10th of July 1869, and with his assistance arrested Ameer Khan and Hushmutdad Khan, and forwarded them by rail to Patna that very evening to the Magistrate who had sent me the warrants.

On the 18th July 1869, Baboo Ishree Pershad applied to me to assist in procuring Meer Ahmed Ali, ("the native doctor with whom he had old acquaintance, and through whom he had become acquainted with Mirza Wazid

Beg, and through whom his inquiries proceeded with good results.") an appointment in the police. He wrote to me as follows:-

"The name of the man whose nomination roll has been sent by Mr. Lambert for a subinspectorship is Meer Ahmed Ali. I spoke to you as well as the Inspector-General about the same man. On Mr. Bayley's recommendation his nomination roll is gone up. Please try and get him appointed. He has lost his practice as a *hakeem*, or doctor, for assisting me."

On receipt of this letter I spoke to the Inspector-General, and Meer Ahmed Ali was appointed a sub-inspector in the district of Patna.

32. Out of the twelve persons for whom warrants had been sent by the Government, three men were *not* arrested, viz. Umdoo Khan, Moulvie Abdool Rohoman, and Ellahie Bux — all three men of Dinapore and Patna; the latter a gomastah of Hushmutdad Khan. Of these, the latter was the most important; in fact owing to his not having been arrested, I attribute the subsequent release of Hushmutdad Khan. The only time in which I took an active part in the operations at Patna was with regard to this gomastah. I was informed that he was in his house at Dinapore, where his wife had been recently confined, and I went in person to Colonel Emerson, the Cantonment Magistrate, with the information; but owing to some mismanagement on the part of the police, the man escaped; and from July 1869, to the conclusion of the trial in July 1871, he was not arrested.

33. While at Delhi, it appeared from inquiries made in that city, that Rawul Pindee and Peshawur were, next to Patna, important centres of the Wahabee movement. In addition to this information, a letter, No. 1421, dated the 27th May 1869, was received from the Under-Secretary to the Punjab Government reporting the arrest of two men, named Abdool Azeez and Fukeeroollah, at Rawul Pindee, and forwarding copy of a letter from the Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department, "sanctioning the deputation of Mr. Reily to the Punjab to prosecute his inquiries; also stating that the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab was desirous that Mr. Reily should be placed in charge of the inquiry and visit Rawul Pindee and Peshawur, should he find it necessary to do so."

34. It was accordingly decided that I should proceed to the Punjab. I sent for a man named Murtuzah, a native of Malda, who had lived for four or five years with the Crescentaders under Moulvie Abdoolah, and who had resided for three years at Peshawur. This man had named several persons to me as the chief agents of the Wahabees at Peshawur; and as he appeared earnest in his desire to assist me in these inquiries, I considered it advisable to take him with me. I also requested Baboo Ishree Pershad to accompany me. That officer, in his letter dated 28th July 1869, suggested my taking from Patna Boodhoo Khan, Hadjee Deen Mahomed, Oomaid Ali, and Mungloo, and as a guard for himself, Nuthoo head constable, and Ojadeah a constable, both of the Patna police. I consented to this arrangement.

35. On the 5th of August 1869 I left Calcutta for Bankipore, *en route* to the Punjab, with Murtuzah. On the 9th of August, Baboo Ishree Pershad

informed me that Kurreem Bux, one of the prisoners in the Bankipore jail, was willing to give us information about the Wahabees at Dinapore and Patna. The following day he was taken by Baboo Ishree Pershad before the Magistrate of Patna, before whom he made a confession, which was recorded by that officer. I forwarded a copy of this confession to the Inspector-General of Police with my letter No. 180, dated the 14th August 1869 in which I reported that Kurreem Bux "had given bail before the Magistrate of Patna for Rs. 1,000. There are two or three prisoners who appear inclined to give information, which is likely to prove valuable. I shall report on them hereafter. I have been daily in the hope of securing the gomastah of Ameer Khan and Hushmutdad Khan, named Ellahie Bux, through whom all their subscriptions to the Wahabee fund were paid. The evidence of this man will render the proof complete. I have pointed out the importance of this man's evidence to Baboo Ishree Pershad." My letter was forwarded to Government with Inspector-General's letter No. 6, dated 16th August 1869.

36. On the 14th of August, Colonel Emerson sent me, in original, a petition from one Ashraf Hossein, the brother of Ali Hossein, one of the prisoners in the Bankipore jail. The petition was as follows:-

To

Lieutenant Colonel J. Emerson
Cantonment Magistrate of Dinapore.

Sir,

I BEG most respectfully to bring to your honor's favorable notice that my elder brother, Sheik Ali Hossein, who has unfortunately been made a prisoner in the Wahabee conspiracy case, and is in custody at the Meetapore Jail, has expressed his desire to give his deposition. May I therefore request the favor of your kindly forwarding my application for the information of Mr. Reily, Deputy Inspector-General of the Detective Police, who will on receipt of the intimation cause his deposition to be taken.

DINAPORE,
The 14th August 1869.

I am Sir,
Your most obedient servant,
Ashruf Hossein.

FORWARDED to J.H. Reily, Esq., as requested by Ashruf Hossein, who is nazir of this court, and brother to the prisoner Ali Hussein.

The 14th August, 1869.

J. EMERSON,
Cantonment Magistrate of Dinapore.

I applied to have the prisoner sent over to me, and on his expressing a desire to make a full revelation of all he knows, I sent him with Baboo Ishree

Pershad before the Magistrate of Patna, before whom his statement was recorded on the 17th August 1869. The confession was as follows:-

"I have in Sagunah Mynpoorah, near the Cantonment of Dinapore. I am employed in the sudder ameen's and small cause courts. I know Peer Mahomed. I know that he is the leader of the Dinapore Wahabees, and that he keeps the *baitoolmal*, or public collections, on account of the Wahabees. The collectors are, Abdool Rohoman for Orderly Bazar, Taltolah; and Khoda Bux for old Dinapore, Imleetolah, and Bhudye Khan and Umdoo Khan for Nassreegunge; and Kurreem Bux for Bebigunge and Mooteatolah; and under him Tussadoo, for Lalkootee. These people collect from Wahabees all sorts of collections, viz. *Koorbanee ka chumrah*, which means the hides of every animal slaughtered at the *Bukreed*; *Zekat*, which is 2½ per cent, on the profits of all trades; *Sadka*, which is the same as *Fitrah*, viz. four seers of wheat, or its price from every person at the Eed. These collections were all paid to Peer Mahomed, and he sent them on to where the *jehad* was, viz. what we call the *kafilah*. The object of these collections was to aid the colonists, or *kafilah*, to make war (*jehad*) against the Government. Peer Mahomed in conversation with Ellahie Bux, gomastah of Husmutdad Khan, Moula Bux, Shere Ali has brother, both of Dinapore, Nazir, and Duffa Ali, a merchant of Dinapore, and with my knowledge, not with my advice, but after informing me, used to send this money for the above purpose. His messengers were Hadjee Deen Mahomed, Tubaruk Ali, Kullen (a durzee of Dinapore), Ameer his partner, and Hossein Ali, and also his (Peer Mahomed's) servant, Fyaz. These messengers took the money to Delhi or Peshawur, whence it was forwarded. They did not themselves go on to the Sittanah colony. One time Hadjee Deen Mahomed went from here, rather more than a year ago, with Rs. 2,000 in *ashruffees*, for the purpose of the *kafilah*. He sent a letter after he had got to his destination, on the outside of which was from "Buxoollah (the brother-in-law of Hadjee Deen Mahomed of Orderly Bazar, Dinapore) to Boodboo," who is Deen Mahomed's son-in-law. Inside, the letter was intended for Peer Mahomed; and after giving his salaams to all of us, viz. Ellahie Bux, Umdoo Khan, Kurreem Bux, Khoda Bux, Abdool Rohoman, Bhudye Khan, and to me and to Sookhoo, said that he had arrived, and his expenses had been Rs. 100; and that he had forwarded the two maunds of tobacco to Goolshun. We knew that he meant by each maund of tobacco rupees one thousand; and by *Goolshun* the *Kafilah* or Sittanah colony. That letter was read to us by Kurreem Bux, and remained with Boodhoo. He desired a reply to be sent to the name of Buxoollah. The address on the outside gave it as coming from 1st Company, 4th Regiment Artillery. It is merely a blind. Some four or five months after it was received, i.e. about the *Bukreed*, the letter which had been put by Boodhoo, with a lot of zemindaree papers, fell with them into the hands of Mungloo, his partner, who took the papers to Hingun to have the accounts explained to him, and in the process, this letter came out; Hingun read it, and told Mungloo, and they sent for Boodhoo.

Boodhoo said the letter was not his, but Peer Mahomed's. Peer Mahomed was called by Boodhoo, and then Wazid was sent for. Umdoo Khan, Ellahie Bux, Khoda Bux, Sookhoo, Kurreem Bux, and I, (again says no) -Wazid- (was sent for by Boodhoo, and Boodhoo himself called us). We all were collected in Jhugroo's place, and Peer Mahomed proposed that the decree which Boodhoo held over Jhugroo (the brother of Hingoo) should be cancelled, and that we should make it up to Boodhoo. The decree was for Rs. 6,000. Jhugroo agreed to this, and said that if the decree was cancelled, he would give up the letter. Before this Boodhoo had sold in one deed two annas of the decree to me, and four annas to Kurreem Bux, nominally for Rs. 800, but really to give us an interest in getting the decree satisfied. We were to receive our share of the money under Peer Mahomed's arrangement. Boodhoo, Jhugroo, Hingun, and Mungloo, accordingly came to the court here at Patna and filed a petition (through Amanut Khan, vakeel) of acquittance for the full amount of the decree. They came back the same evening at 4 or 5 o'clock to Peer Mahomed's shop at Dinapore, and said they had filed the petition. I was there present. Peer Mahomed then asked Jhugroo to give him up the letter, and Jhugroo told Mungloo to give it up. Mungloo handed it to Kurreem Bux, who was standing near him, and he gave it to Peer Mahomed. The amount of the decree promised by Peer Mahomed has never been given; he was in a fright at that time, as his son-in-law, and the father of the latter, viz. Tubaruk Ali and Mubarak, had recently been arrested. We did not file a petition in regard to our share of the decree, as up to that time our names had not been entered as decree-holders, but afterwards as Peer Mahomed did not pay us, I applied to have my name entered as decree-holder for six annas on the basis of the deed of sale above referred to.

"Ellahie Bux was formerly a gomastah of Peer Mahomed, and afterwards became gomastah to Ammer Khan and Hushmutdad Khan, who were partners. When these two separated, he remained on as gomastah to Hushmutdad Khan only in Dinapore; and the *zekat* and other contributions of Hushmutdad Khan and Ameer Khan were always brought to Peer Mahomed by Ellahie Bux. This has been going on for two or three years, since Ahmedoollah was imprisoned. Peer Mahomed was then made the agent for collections.

"I have seen Ellahie Bux pay in money for this purpose. Once, about a year ago, I went with Ellahie Bux, having some business, to see *Hakeem* Abdool Hamed, (the son of Ahmedoollah), about it, and we went first to Hushmutdad Khan's *kootie* in the city near Goolzar Baug. Ellahie Bux drew Rs. 1,000; these he took to the *chowk*, and changed into gold mohurs, and then returned with me to Peer Mahomed; I went on to my house. He told me it was quite understood between us, that the money was paid to Peer Mahomed as a contribution to be sent to the colony for the purpose of *jehad*. That Rs. 1,000 with other money, was taken by Tubaruck Ali, who gave it out here, that he was going to trade with the money. He had 48 *Ashrufes*, and there were Rs. 19.8 over. I

have often heard on other occasions, both from Peer Mahomed and Ellahie Bux, of the sums brought by the latter. The money was sent up to the frontier some three or four times a year, but not quite regularly. It was sent according to their requirements, and partly according to the amount of collections. Another source of income, besides those mentioned above, was from the property of the Wahabees dying without heirs or near relations; some times the relatives were persuaded to make over the property of dead Wahabees. There was by *Hibanameh* a house given by an old woman, living near Umdoo Khan's house; we got a good deal of property. The building is now in Umdoo Khan's possession. I know all this, as I was with them. Wahabees Oozdar and Munsheer used to do their legal work.

"Read over to Ali Hossein Vakeel in Urdu, and acknowledged to be correct."

C.S. BAYLEY,
Magistrate.

37. This confession was forwarded to the Inspector-General, with my letter No. 182, dated the 19th August 1869, as follows:-

"I have the honor to submit a copy of the statement made by the Vakeel Ali Hossein, one of the Wahabee prisoners in the Patna jail, before the Magistrate of Patna. I have already applied to you by telegram for this man's release. My object is to release him on bail, as he can be of the greatest use to Baboo Ishuree Pershad at Patna and Dinapore. We could not well have succeeded in convicting this man, and Kurreem Bux, as there is nothing against them but concealing the receipt of the letter from Hadjee Deen Mahomed. But as they are shareholders in the decree, and the associates of Peer Mahomed, their evidence will be very valuable against him.

"We have every hope of getting Ellahie Bux, the gomastah of Ameer Khan and Hushmutdad Khan, who paid the Wahabee collections on their account to Peer Mahomed. Sub-Inspector Meer Ahmed Ali of the regular police, with the consent of the district superintendent, has been left at Dinapore to find Ellahie Bux."

38. I applied by telegram to the Inspector-General requesting that the prisoner Ali Hossein Vakeel may be made over to my custody. I waited the 18th and 19th at Patna for a reply to the telegram, but not receiving any, I started Baboo Ishree Pershad with Murtazah and others to Delhi, directing him to wait for me in that city. The next day the 20th August 1869, not receiving a reply to my telegram, I left Bankipore for the Punjaub, with instructions to Meer Ahmed Ali, who had been appointed a sub-inspector of police, to take the telegram, when it arrived, to the Magistrate of Patna. Meer Ahmed Ali, sub-inspector, at Baboo Ishree Pershad's suggestion was appointed to Dinapore to go on with the enquiries he had originated. I learnt that the prisoner Ali Hossein Vakeel was subsequently released from Jail having given bail for Rs. 1,000.

39. I reached Delhi on the 21st of August 1869, and taking Baboo Ishree Pershad, and others with me reached Rawul Pindee on the 30th of August 1869; but Baboo Ishree Pershad did not join me until the next day. I remained at Rawul Pindee until the 7th of September, when I left for Peshawar. My report No. 187, dated the 12th September 1869, was forwarded to Government by the Inspector-General of Police, with his letter No. 6875; it gives an account of my proceedings during my visit to Rawul Pindee. It is as follows:-

“With reference to the correspondence which has passed between the Bengal, and Punjab Governments, relating to the Wahabee conspiracy, and which has been forwarded to me with the personal assistant’s memorandum No. 3814, dated the 16th June 1869, directing me to visit Rawul Pindee and Peshawur, should I find it necessary to do so; I beg to notice that the correspondence relates to the arrest of two men named Fukeeroollah Durzee, and Abdool Azeez. It also contains the evidence of a man named Golab, who names Hadjee Deen Mahomed as sending letters from Dinapore. It is not necessary for me to repeat how Hadjee Deen Mahomed was arrested at Patna, nor to recapitulate the evidence taken before the Magistrate of Patna (copies of which have been already submitted), which evidence clearly proves that the Hadjee is one of the messengers employed by Peer Mahomed and his gang, to carry money to the *Jehadees* across the frontier, I brought Hadjee Deen Mahomed with me to Rawul Pindee, to ascertain if he were the man named by Golab.

“I beg to submit herewith copies of the evidence of witnesses produced by me before the Deputy Commissioner of Rawul Pindee, from which it will be seen, that Hadjee Deen Mahomed has been clearly identified as having lived at Rawul Pindee, ostensibly as a *Moollah* in the *Musjid* at that place, for a number of years, and as having been connected with the Wahabees for a long period, even before the Punjab was conquered by the British. The chain of evidence, therefore, connecting Peer Mahomed and his gang with the men arrested by the authorities at Rawul Pindee is complete.

The two men arrested at Rawul Pindee, viz., Fukeeroollah and Azeez have been identified by Murtuzah (who lived with the fanatics at Mulka for some years) as having been with Moulvy Abdoollah, the chief of the *Jehadees*, and having served as his personal orderlies or body-guard.”

“Abdoollah who has been recently arrested at Rawul Pindee is a native of Hadjeepore, opposite Patna. He is also a relative of Hadjee Deen Mahomed and a brother of Abdool Rohoman of Dinapore, against whom there is a warrant under regulation III of 1818, and who is named in the evidence recorded before the Magistrate of Patna, as one of the collectors of money for *Jehad*. I have evidence to prove, that he was recently at Dinapore, and brought money with him. In fact, it has been proved, that Peer Mahomed and his accomplices at Patna and Dinapore, have had agents at Rawul Pindee for the purpose of sending money collected by them to the *Jehadees*.

"It now remains for me to follow up the clue to Peshawur and Abbottabad which I intended to do. Through the district Superintendent of Police at Rawul Pindee (Mr. Turnbull), I have found a *Pathan* named Mawaz Khan, who has seen the *Jehadees* (only two months ago). I have had his information recorded before the Deputy Commissioner of Peshawur. It will be seen that he names Ameer Khan, Ellahie Bux, the butcher at Meerut, and the *Begum* at Tonk, as the principal contributors to the support of the *Jehadees*. I beg to submit the statement of Mawaz Khan. I shall attend to Moulvy Golam Russool on my way back. I find he is a notorious Wahabee."

It appears the policy of these men is to send young men to the hills, where they are kept for a certain time under the immediate tuition of Moulvy Abdoollah, and instructed by the Moulvy himself. When they have proved themselves trustworthy, they are sent to the plains, and employed as agents at different stations within the British territories. These agents invariably follow some trade to deceive the police, such as tailors, book-sellers, book-binders, butchers, moollahs, & c. There is more system and organization in the management of this wide-spread conspiracy than I believed. The arrangements are in accordance with the proverbial cunning of the wily Mahomedans, and testify to the serpent wisdom of the sect. When we consider that the collection of money affords employment to so large a number of men; that it enables them to command money without any check or restraint (save that of religion); that it exposes them to strong temptation to embezzle and misappropriate the sums which pass through their hands; (a temptation which they seldom resist and which must always be the case, when we consider the multifarious and heterogeneous agency they employ) it is not surprising that the employment is so popular, and attracts so large a number of men. To deal successfully with such well constituted and systematic arrangements, demands a better organized agency on the part of Government than the spasmodic attempts made by police officers in different places, and at distant intervals. What we need are agents in different parts of India, all under one head, to watch these men; with authority, to give rewards for information which results in intercepting money and correspondence. Until this plan is carried out, I fear, we shall make little impression on so wide-spread a conspiracy, intensified as it is by religious zeal, class hatred, and the self-interests of its professing votaries and collecting agents.

40. What is the origin of Moulvy Abdoollah, the leader of the sect? The family to which he belongs was of no note or repute at Patna, until it joined the Wahabees and placed itself at the head of the movement. From that time they acquired influence and became proprietors of estates, which have since been confiscated. Wahabeeism has made them the leaders of thousands; it has placed an armed force of fanatics at their command; it has ranked them with the chiefs amongst the frontier tribes, and made them worthy the notice of a great power like the British, who have already sent two expeditions against them, which, it is the boast of these fanatics, has cost the Government lacs of rupees.

Moulvy Abdoollah, it is well known, is a man of no great intelligence or ability. He owes his influence solely to his creed, which professes to purify

Mahomedanism from all taints of idolatry and caste prejudices. By declaring all classes of men equal before *Ullah*, he secures the support of the lower classes, and enlists their radical proclivities. He ignores altogether caste feelings, which have been engrafted upon Mahomedans in India, together with other Hindoo customs and prejudices. Wahabeeism receives with open arms the butcher, the tailor, the *chumrawallah*, & c., and declares openly that one of the faithful is as good as another. This is the reason why the petty shopkeepers, and the Mahomed Shuffees, the Ellahie Buxes, the Ameer Khans *et hoc genus*, so eagerly adopt the creed, and so zealously contribute enormous sums for its support. The Moulvy points to *jehad* as the only means of restoring pure and reformed Mahomedanism throughout the land. He reminds his followers that the presence of the English *kaffir* is the only obstacle to the spread of the pure religion of the Koran, and to the restoration of the Mahomedan dynasty. He appeals to the example of the prophet, who propagated his religion by the sword*. It is true that he denounces the errors of the orthodox *Soonies* by declaring that Wahabees are the only true Mussulmans, and has thus provoked the opposition of the Akhoond of Swat, who is the Pope of the *Soonies* on the frontier; but it is generally believed that were the British Government to determine to utterly destroy the Moulvy and his followers, the hatred of the *Soonies* to the *kaffir* would prove stronger than their dislike to the Moulvy, while at the same time it would invest the Wahabees with the sanctity of martyrs, and very likely increase their influence.

41. The true policy therefore to adopt towards these fanatics is to prevent, by every means, their drawing recruits from the British Empire, to cut off their supplies, and to render it impossible for their agents to remain in the principal cities and towns in Bengal, Behar, Oude, and Punjab. Where [sic] this slow, but sure policy adopted, I believe the band of Hindoostanee fanatics will gradually disappear; or what will suit our purpose, the Moulvy, to keep up his influence, will be compelled to admit into his ranks the vagabonds and *budmashes* who have fled to the hills to escape justice; and the religious element which gives the movement its strength will be greatly weakened.

42. The proceedings of Major H. B. Urmston, Deputy Commissioner of Rawul Pindee, dated September 3rd, 1869, will show how useful Murtuzah was in identifying the two prisoners, Sujnoo and Fukeeroollah, referred to in the letter of the Under-Secretary to the Punjab Government.

"The evidence, on solemn affirmation, of Murtuzah, son of Akbur Biswas, of zillah Malda, Pergunnah Sirsabad.

"I can recognize Sujnoo *alias* Abdool Azeez, if I see him. I saw him last six years ago, at Mulka, the Hindoostanee colony, where he was a sort of orderly of the Moulvy Abdoollah; he used also to do tailor's work for the Moulvy.

"(A gang of sixteen men from the Rawul Pindee Jail, all dressed alike in jail clothing, are here produced; out of their number the witness immediately recognizes Sujnoo and points him out).

"This is the man, pointing to him. I know him perfectly, though he

[*This is an incorrect statement. — M.M. Ali.]

has become thin and dirty looking. I was with him about one year at Mulka. He came there with six or seven others; they brought bundles of goods with them. I cannot say what articles. It was at the time when Shuffee used to supply the colony. I don't know Sujnoo's real home. He came from Hindoostan, about Bhojepore.

"There were always thirty or forty men in attendance upon the Moulvy Abdoollah as orderlies, who were stationed round and near his house. This man Sujnoo was one of them. Moulvy Abdoollah was the sirdar or leader of the colony. The people were all taught drill at Mulka by Nujjuff Khan, and Alla Bux. The drill words were given in Arabic. These drill instructors were formerly sepoy in the British service. I can recognize Fukeeroollah if I see him.

"(Another large gang of prisoners is brought up. Witness without the slightest hesitation, picks out Fukeeroollah). 'This is the man; I know him well. He was at Mulka at the same time with me as Sujnoo and others; he was in Kaim Khan's gang of followers or companies.'

"Taken before me; read over to the witness in a language which he understood and acknowledged to be correct."

The 3rd September 1869

H.B. URMSTON,
Magistrate.

43. At Attuck I found Oomerdeen, a chaprassee in the Telegraph Department, who was named in the statement made by Abdoollah before the Deputy Commissioner of Rawul Pindee as connected with the fanatics. On searching his house letters were found on him from Hadjee Deen Mahomed and Rumzan. It was evident that he made use of his service under Government to go down to the frontier, to enable him to be of use to the fanatics in supplying them with information, and in assisting recruits to reach the rebel camp. The chaprassee was detained at Rawul Pindee, and was subsequently released, as he was an inferior agent, whom it was not worth while prosecuting; but at the same time I suggested that he should not be employed in the Telegraph Department anywhere near the frontier.

On the 9th of September 1869, I reached Peshawur, where unfortunately cholera was raging at the time, which interfered with the work. Murtuzah again proved useful and fulfilled all my expectations. My report No. 201, dated the 28th September 1869, to the address of the Inspector-General of Police, contains a full account of the proceedings at Peshawur. Murtuzah's statement was recorded by the Deputy Commissioner of Peshawur, who in his memorandum remarks as follows.

"I think that there can be no reasonable doubt that Mr. Reily has laid his hand upon a nest of grave political offenders, of whose disloyalty there can be no doubt; who have one and all been connected with the fanatic colony on the Mahabun; have been their agents in fact for supplying them with money and ammunition, and yet have been living undisturbed in the heart of the cantonment of Peshawur.

1. Mooftee Mahomed Ashun, alias Mahomed Hossein, alias Golam

Hossein, alias Hossainee, late Imam of the Sudder Bazaar Moque.

2. Syed Khan, late Khansamah for years in the service of General Haly now of the 36th Regiment.

3. Abdool Rohoman, tobacco seller in the Sudder Bazaar, a well-known Wahabee native of Dinapore, formerly a Hindoo.

4. Moollah Ibrahim, Imam of the mosque in the bazaar of the European Regimental lines, a native of Rampore Bauleah [Rajshahi].

5. Moollah Jehangeer, Imam of the mosque in the artillery bazaar.

6. Shumshir, a tailor in the artillery bazaar.

"All these men are shown to have been suspected for some years, and now Mr. Reily has suddenly appeared with direct evidence against them, supported by strong corroborative evidence.

44. The Deputy Commissioner also states in his memorandum- "there is no doubt in my mind that Murtuzah is stating other than facts throughout, and that his statements are other than reliable. His whole demeanour as a witness has been carefully noticed."

The Deputy Commissioner adds- "Murtuzah declared Mooftee Hossainee to be the principal agent of Moulvy Abdoollah, that he had seen him repeatedly at Mulka during the four or five years he was with the fanatics, and that he has seen the Mooftee send Rs. 1,000 through Heera Khattree to the Moulvy, and on another occasion Rs. 500 through Tota, a brother of Heera. I had a suspicion that the Mooftee Hossainee might be identical with a man who was employed, through the *kotwal* of the city of Peshawur, as a spy (Mooftee Mahomed Ashun or Hussun, formerly Imam of the mosque in the Sudder Bazaar). I summoned him, and arranged that Murtuzah should come in with a note and see him in the room. The two looked at each other, and from the composure of the Mooftee, it would have been impossible to suppose that he had recognized Murtuzah; but on Murtuzah leaving the room, after the lapse of a short time, the Mooftee remarked to me, that the man who had lately left the room was one Abdool Rohoman (the name Murtuzah went by at Mulka) whom he had seen at Mulka. A second note brought in by Murtuzah informed me that Mooftee Hossainee was the man sitting with me. The two had recognized each other at once."

45. The next morning the house of Mahomud Hossein was searched by the *kotwal* of the city in the presence of Baboo Ishree Pershad; while the houses of four others, within the cantonments, were searched by the Assistant Commissioner Mr. Napier, assisted by me. I must state that I had already heard, prior to these searches, that Rumzan from Rawul Pindee had sent a letter to Peshawur warning the Peshawur agents of my intended visit. I did not therefore except any successful result. The detention also of Mooftee Hossainee by the Deputy Commissioner, the evening previous to the search, was quite sufficient to alarm the conspirators. The searches, however, were made by me more as a matter of form.

46. In the house of Mooftee Hossainee alias Mahomed Hossein, alias Golam Hossein (for he bears all these names) were found two letters, one written by one Imdad Ali. The Mooftee denies all knowledge of this letter; but

the Deputy Magistrate took the precaution of having it signed by the Mooftie's father at the time it was found in his house. The reason why the Mooftie denies all knowledge of this letter is because Imdad Ali is known to be with Feroze Shah. It is said that he was a Deputy Magistrate at Furruckabad, or some district in the North-Western provinces; that he joined the rebels in 1857 and is a proclaimed offender. The letter states "that one Sadut Ali was proceeding to Bhopaul, and that he should be respected for the cause of Islam."

47. The *Kotwal* of Peshawur Surfraz Khan, I believe, was all along well acquainted with the character of Moulvie Mahomed Hossein, alias Mooftie, and I fear purposely employed him as a spy on the Hindoostanees, to enable the Mooftie to carry on his game with impunity. The *Kotwal's* statement recorded before Captain Waterfield, is sufficient to prove this; he makes every possible excuse for the Mooftie; and though he parades a good deal of what the Mooftie did, it is clear that the *Kotwal*, during these several years, never arrested a single messenger, though numbers must have passed through Peshawur assisted by the Mooftie. It is also evident from information obtained at Abbotabad, from an independent source, that *hoondees* from Mecca were cashed at Peshawur, and gold and gold mohours were carried to Moulvy Abdoollah by the Mooftie.

48. After the statement of Murtuzah had been recorded, and the houses had been searched, the Deputy Commissioner found a memorandum (in the drawer of his table written by Mr. Macnabb, former Deputy Commissioner) containing the statement of one Wafadar Khan (an assumed name) a spy who had been sent by Colonel Chamberlain to the Hindoostanee colony. The statement was purposely recorded under an assumed name, Colonel Chamberlain alone was acquainted with his real name. It appears the man was allowed to purchase Rs. 200 worth of gold mohurs, which he had sewn up in his shoes, and when he went before Moulvy Abdoollah, he made him a low obeisance, pulled off his shoes, and presented the Moulvy with the gold mohurs, which he represented as having brought at so much risk. The Moulvy was completely taken in; he allowed the pretended Wafadar to remain with him for some time, during which the man collected the information recorded by Mr. Macnabb in his memorandum. It will be seen the information is very correct, and agrees remarkably with the information obtained by me from Murtuzah.

49. The memorandum is dated the 15th July 1867, long before I knew Murtuzah. It was recorded at Peshawur, by the Deputy Commissioner of that place, which is more than a thousand miles from Malda, where Murtuzah first made his statement, as mentioned in my letter to the Inspector-General of Police, No. 84, dated 12th March 1869, when Murtuzah had no idea, that I intended to take him to Peshawur. The memorandum in question was not found until Murtuzah's statement had been recorded. In fact the corroboration of Murtuzah's statement by that of Wafadar Khan, is the best evidence that can be produced, considering that they were recorded at different places, without the possibility of the two men communicating with each other. It will be seen the two statements support each other as regards Peshawur in a remarkable manner.

50. The memorandum states that "the *Paish Imam* of the Suder Bazar

mosque, Mirzah Mahomed the son of a Moofttee is an important agent. With him is associated the General's *khansamah*. They got Rs. 6,000 up from Patna a short time since. Letters from Mulka are addressed to the name of the Paish Imam of the Topekannah Musjid, viz. Shumshir khalifah. The General's *khansamah* buys caps and priming powder, and sends them up through the Moulvy of Sudder Bazar." It will be remarked that the *Moofttee*, the General's *khansamah* Syed Khan, Shumshir Durzee, and Jehangir, the *Paish Imam* of the Topekannah Bazar, are also named by Murtuzah. The authorities at Peshawur did not act on Wafadar's information, because it was not corroborated; but when corroborated by Murtuzah, the men were arrested at once. A demi-official note from the Deputy Commissioner informed me that the Moofttee had made his escape from the guard placed over him in the Deputy Commissioner's premises, and has not been heard of since; it was reported that he had joined the Hindoostanees. It was significant that the Moofttee absconded the very night after his examination. He found I knew too much about him. The mask he had so long worn was suddenly torn off his face, and he stood revealed in his true character of friend and associate of Moulvy Abdoollah. Conscious of guilt, and dreading punishment, he evidently bribed the sentry, and disappeared off the stage, having played his part for several years to the great satisfaction of his leader. I regretted at the time this denouement to the story, for the Moofttee escaped the punishment he so richly deserved; but at the same time I felt that, under the circumstances, it was perhaps the best thing that could have happened. Abdoollah lost an important and valuable agent at so important a place as Peshawur; and the fact of the Moofttee having been employed as a spy would have complicated our case against him. On going to Abbótabad, it was satisfactory to find further corroboration of his guilt. An old Government servant, employed by the Deputy Commissioner of that place, certified in a statement made over to me,-

"Moofttee of Peshawur. The money brought from Hindoostan is entrusted to this man, who either carries it himself, or sends it through Moulvy Sadik of Tahakal Balah." The arrest of the Moofttee, as the result of my visit to Peshawur, must be regarded as the last link of the chain of evidence I traced from Dacca to Peshawur; and proves that my labors were not fruitless.

51. The arrest of Syed Khan, the General's *khansamah*, made a sensation at Peshawur; but the evidence of Murtuzah was so distinct, and so satisfactorily corroborated, that I could not help applying for his arrest. The *khansamah*, it will be seen, has not assigned any reason why Murtuzah should name him; he admitted that he had no enmity against him.

52. Ahmed Ali, the cossid, I could not find at Peshawur; he knew that he was well known, and he must have absconded on hearing that I was going to Peshawur. There is ample evidence against this man whenever he may return to Peshawur. He was subsequently arrested in Hazarah, and was sent, *thanna* by *thanna*, to his native village Yerke, in the district of Gya, the Deputy Commissioner of Abbotabad believing him to be a common Hindoostanee fakeer. I heard too late of this error from the men Colonel Chamberlain sent to

Malda, and I did all I could to rectify it. I obtained from the Magistrate of Patna a warrant on the police, and Abdoollah *Kawitee* was sent with the police to identify him; but though Ahmed Ali was in the village of Yerke, when the police reached it, by some means he was permitted to escape. I had requested Baboo Ishree Pershad to go in person and arrest that *cossid*, but it appears he was too unwell at the time to leave Patna. Since that time Ahmed Ali has not been heard of. Against Ibrahim we had the evidence of Murtuzah; he is a native of Bengal, and may be sent back to his native place. Against Jehangir, and Shumshir Durzee, who are natives of Dinapore, there was the evidence of Murtuzah, corroborated by the statement of Wafadar Khan, who in fact states "that letters from Mulkah are addressed to the name of the Parish [sic] Imam of the Topekannah Bazar (Jehangir), viz. Shumshir kalifah." This evidence would appear to me sufficient; if not, these two men, I suggest, may be sent away from Peshawur to their native country. It is a pity that Golam Rubanee could not be found. It is natural for Moulvy Abdoollah to trust his fellow countrymen from Hindoostan more than the natives of those parts, and whenever the Punjab authorities find a Hindoostanee who has no proper means of livelihood, I think it will be advisable to send him to his native place, where he should be kept under police surveillance.

53. I succeeded in finding Abdool Rohoman, a seller of tobacco, who was originally a Hindoo, and had turned Wahabee. Murtuzah named him as an agent at Peshawur and as having known him while at Mulka and also at Peshawur; Boodhoo Khan named him in his evidence, recorded before the Magistrate of Patna. Regarding this person the Commissioner of Patna remarked on the 28th July 1869, on Baboo Ishree Pershad's diary of the 27th July 1869. "That a telegram should be sent to Peshawur to secure the man." But I was unwilling to telegraph to Peshawur about him, for at that time there was no one at Peshawur who could point him out. I had the satisfaction of having Abdool Rohoman safe in jail; he was identified by both Murtuzah and Boodhoo Khan.

54. I had thus traced the remittances of money for purposes of *jehad* to the extreme point of the British territories. I had succeeded in either dispersing, or causing to be sent to jail, the entire gang of conspirators at Peshawur, and had thus carried out the instructions of His Honor the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal.

55. Copies of the examination, of Murtuzah, Golam Surfraz Khan, the kotwal of the city of Peshawur, Wafadar Khan, Mooftee Golam Hossein, and Boodhoo Khan, were sent to the Inspector-General, and by him forwarded to Government with his letter No. 7267, dated 9th October 1869. It is a remarkable fact that Murtuzah, who had been both at Mulka and Peshawur, is a native of Malda, Moollah Ibrahim, a native of Rajshahye, Ahmed Ali of Gya, Golam Roobanee, Abdool Rohoman, Jehangir, and Shumshir Durzee of Dinapore, all of them natives of Bengal, and they were the most active and trusted agents of the fanatics.

56. I left Peshawur and went to Abbotabad, which I reached on the 22nd of September 1869. Abbotabad is only thirty miles from Behar, where the fanatics were encamped at that time; they have since built a fort with stone

walls at Polosah. It is not now so easy for discontented *jehadees* to escape and return to our territories since the fort has been occupied; and this I believe is the reason why we have recently heard of so few deserters returning from the fanatics. At that time I ascertained there were in the rebel camp at Behar only three hundred and sixty-two fighting men, of whom fifty-seven were from Arrah and Ghazeepore. There were thirty women and forty children, and they had twenty-seven horses and twenty-seven mules at Palosah. There were then five leaders or men of influence in the rebel camp, viz. Moulvie Fyaz Ali, Moulvie Abdoollah, and his three sons, Amanoollah, Muteeoollah, and Abdool Kader. There were eight sirdars or jemadars of companies, viz.:-

1. Rujub, of Bograh.
2. Dennutoollah, of Malda.
3. Abdool Guffoor, of Hakimpore, in 24-Pergunnahs.
4. Myooddin, of Rajshahye.
5. Shareatoollah, of Rajshahye.
6. Nierooddeen, of Jessore.
7. Mahomed Akbar, of Azimghur.
8. Zeamutoollah of Rajmehal.

The burden of Moulvy Abdoollah's preaching to his follower is, "that the prison and gallows await them if they return to Hindoostan." The fanatics at that time were reduced to great distress, the Akoond of Swat having driven them out of Bonnair, and having killed and wounded a number of the followers of Moulvy Abdoollah. The Wahabees it appears cannot rest content in any place, they seek constantly to make converts, and had thus incurred the enmity of the Akoond, who is the Pope of the tribes beyond the frontier. The greatest mistake Abdoollah ever made was his falling out with the Akoond of Swat; and if at that time the Government had adopted active measures, the rebels must have been destroyed. I had access to the journal of Fyzoollah Khan employed by the Deputy Commissioner of Hazarah to collect information about the fanatics, I beg to give the following extracts from his journal.

"7th December 1868.- Thirty Hindoostanees with two *duffadars*, under the pretence of buying grain, have been to Mouzah Bullund Kote from Joadha. They have been to Jhakote to make *girzah* (consultation), and are still at Jhakote".

"The grain collected as tithes from men of Jhakote, and from the tribe of the Aktorkhazie, is still lying there, and has not yet been made over to the Hindoostanees. Shaulrun has invited the men of Nodhoree, Sugree, and Dhosa, to join in giving offerings of grain as *siddkha* to the Hindoostanees. They replied they would not give a single grain, but they would detain them if they went to their place.

57. "The Akoond of Swat has written to the *girjahs* of Jhakote and Chakarzie that these Hindoostanees are not *Mojahedeens*, but Wahabees. "Do not let them remain with you, or you will be treated as Wahabees." Shaulran replied that "according to the custom of our fathers, we will permit the Hindoostanees to remain as fighting men, not as *Mojahedeens*. Men of all creeds are fighting men." The Chakurzie say that "these men should be turned

out of the country." There are some who say that "they should not be turned out, for outwardly they are Mahomedans, and even if *kaffirs*, and they wish to remain amongst Mahomedans, they are reckoned as *Mustameen* (refugees), and are treated as such." In consequence of this division of opinion, the Hindoostanees are in difficulties. Their leader, Abdoollah, preaches to them daily, and consoles them. "Be patient, be firm, you will reap your reward. If you are impatient, and permit troubles to cause you to disperse, you will perish by an evil death, and at the day of judgment God will judge you with sinners. You can never return to Hindoostan; that place you will never reach in safety, for a host of troubles will surround you: the prison and the gallows await you there." It was reported to Moulvy Abdoollah that seven men had deserted, leaving their arms behind them. On enquiry he ascertained that they had escaped, disguised as *jogees*, via Kohistan to Cashmere. This circumstance appears to have annoyed the Moulvy greatly, and he has begun preaching (*waz*).

"23rd December 1869.- My men met Moulvy Isaik, who is with the Hindoostanees. He said "in wordly matters the *sahibs* keep good faith; I will not therefore place any confidence but in the word of a *sahib*. If this can be obtained, I will positively with my followers go to Huzroo, and deliver myself up to the *hakeem*, and return to my country; that is, if any respectable person in *Yaghistan* will stand security that no harm will happen to me." The Hindoostanees have received the grain collected for them as tithes by Shaulran. There are about 800 souls with them, and they have about 70 men wounded in the fight with the Akoond.

"19th January 1868.- Abdoollah has returned to Thakote from Judhah; they have made him Ameer and Imam of Thakote. He says that he will shortly be superior to the Akoond. He preaches to the people, "if you will remain with patience and prepare for *jehad*, you will prosper in both worlds; but if you are impatient and desert the cause, then you will be in trouble, and your faces will be blackened in both worlds, and you will rot in jail. *Kaidkhana may bemaar hokur sur surka murongha*." Some agree to this, but others answer him, "we have left our homes, and have come to *jehad*, that we may gain the crown of martyrs, not to be *katul* by Mahomedans," (alluding to the fight with the Akoond). "Those who were killed by the English at Sittannah and in Soorghabie they are martyrs; but those who die by the hands of Mahomedans, we consider their death evil. Have we come here to be *katul* in the same way and to die a similar disgraceful death in this country?" The Moulvy answered them, "if Mahomedans kill me and my brethren by oppression and force, then, according to the *Hadees*, we will be reckoned as martyrs; and such death will be *gunnemuth*. If God wills, after the snow melts, we will join the Mahomedans of this country, and shall go to Agrore and fight the English; then those whose fate it will be to die will be martyrs, and those who survive will be *Gazees* and *Mojahed Bahadoors*."

30th March 1869.- It was Moulvy Abdoollah's intention to return to Cabul via Swat and Bonnair with his men and property; but Abdool Guffoor, who is known as the Akoond of Swat, has proclaimed in every place in Swat and Bonnair that whoever finds a Hindoostanee he should kill him - those who

do this will be blessed of God for such an act. On this account Moulvy Abdoollah was obliged to give up his intention.

58. "The Akoond has been sending word to the tribes of the Chakruzie, Isseezaye: "You must not permit the Hindoostanees to remain in your country, you should collect together and turn them out; otherwise if they once get head they will take possession of your country." The Akoond Khail tribe say 'the Hindoostanees may remain, and we will give them a place.' The Thakote men say 'we will give them a place, and also tithes.'

59. "Fyaz Ali (the uncle of Abdoollah) says that if a promise is made to him that his brothers Yahiya Ali and Abdoollah, who have been sent across the seas, and also Ibrahim Mundul of Islampore, (which is seven days' journey from Azimabad) will be released, and that he will not be molested, but permitted to return to Patna, and then to go to Mecca, and his expenses to Mecca will be paid; then he will deliver himself with 300 or 400 men, and then Moulvy Abdoollah will find it impossible to remain in Yaghistan, and will also return if he is pardoned.

60. "April 7th, 1869. The Chakurzie with the exception of Akbar Ali, wish to turn the Hindoostanees out of the country. They wish to do so for three reasons: *First*, they dread the power of the English. *Second*, they think it right to obey the order of the Akoond of Swat. *Third*, because the price of grain is increased by the Hindoostanees being in the country, as they purchase large quantities of grain. The Peerzadah of Kenor is willing to permit the Hindoostanees to build a fort at Polosah, but the Akoond has written to the Peerzadah not to give them a place, but the Peerzadah tore up the letter and threw it away. Moulvy Abdoollah wished much to stay at Mulka, but the men of the Amazie tribe, only on account of friendship with the English, will not permit him to do this. The Thakote people offer the Moulvy a place, but he does not fancy this. The Moulvy wrote to the Akoond to this effect, "that we are poor Mahomedans, and have left our country on account of our faith, and are crescentaders, and without any home; if in your opinion there is any error in our religion, then point out the same to us, that we may give it up."

The Akoond in reply said. "If you will say that Moulvy Syed Ahmed and Moulvy Ismail are kaffirs then you will be dearer to me than my children and good Mahomedans, and I will aid you. If not, I regard you as enemies to my religion, and personally my enemy."

61. I returned to Rawul Pindee on the 4th of October 1869, and at once went to the jail to see a prisoner named Abdoollah Kawaitee, who appeared inclined to give me information before I left Rawul Pindee for Peshawur. This man I found had come from Patna some years ago, and had been one of the chief agents at Rawul Pindee. He was taken before the Assistant Commissioner, Mr. Harrison, who recorded his statement in full. It first revealed to us the extent of the conspiracy, and the machinery for its support and management; while at the same time it confirmed all that had been done at Patna, Delhi, Malda, and Rajmehal. This man, Abdoollah, was a principal witness at the Malda, Rajmehal, and Patna trials; and had there been no other result from my visit to the Punjab, but Abdoollah Kawaitee's turning against the fanatics, I should consider this a sufficient "aim and attainment." A copy of the statement

of Abdoollah, was sent to the Inspector-General of Police, with my letter No. 207, dated the 13th October 1869, and was forwarded by him to Government.

62. At Rawul Pindee, as in Peshawur, the agency of the Wahabees was entirely broken up. We had Hadjee Deen Mahomed in jail; we had Abdoolla Kawaitee and Ali Mahomed as Queen's witnesses; Ramzan under police surveillance; Fukeeroollah, Abdool Azeez, Omerdeen in jail; Burkutoollah, Moula Bux and Nubee Bux fugitives; and the authorities both at Peshawur and Rawul Pindee had gained so much information about the fanatics, that it will be difficult for them to establish fresh agencies in those places. I left Rawul Pindee and arrived at Calcutta on the 31st of October 1869, having stayed, *enroute*, for one day at each of the stations of Lahore, Umballah, and Saharanpore. Baboo Ishree Pershad stopped at Patna. The Baboo and the men who accompanied me to the Punjab suffered greatly from fever during the whole time, and were hardly able to stand.

63. On my return to Calcutta I was called upon to state what evidence I had against the men arrested by me. I then proposed to prepare briefs, and submit them for the opinion of the Advocate-General. The preparation of these briefs took up some time, as I had to collect the evidence from Malda, Rajmehal, Rajshahye, Patna, and the Punjab.

The first brief submitted related to Ameerooddin of Malda. The Advocate-General, the Hon'ble Mr. T.H. Cowie, recorded his opinion as follows:

"I am of opinion that there is sufficient evidence to warrant the Government in giving sanction to a prosecution of Ameerooddin for offences against the State."

64. The next brief submitted was that relating to Hadjee Moneerooddin of Rajshahye. On this brief the Advocate-General recorded; "There is, I think, a case in the depositions against Hadjee Moneerooddin; but it is not so satisfactory as could be wished, owing to the circumstances that so many of the principal witnesses are accomplices." On the brief against Peer Mahomed the Advocate-General recorded: "I do not think this case so strong as that against Ameerooddin, but I would nevertheless advise Government to authorize a prosecution." On the brief against Ameer Khan and Hushmutdad Khan, the Advocate-General recorded: that the case "was more than one of suspicion," and requested that the enquiry should be followed up, "for the case at present does not go beyond one of strong suspicion." On the brief regarding Ibrabim Mundul, the Officiating Advocate General, Mr. Graham, recorded the opinion: "I have perused the deposition, in this case. There is a large body of evidence which, though not tested by cross-examination, is convincing that this person is one of the ringleaders of the Wahabee faction; that he has preached, and made proselytes to, and recruited for the cause, which is the overthrow of the British Government; that he has been the depository of the collections of large districts, and that he has himself alleged that those collections are forwarded by him for the support of the *jehad* in the North-West. On this evidence, supposing the case to be of the ordinary kind, I should not be prepared to say there was not fair grounds for obtaining a conviction on charges of abetting the waging of war, and preparing to wage

war under sections 121 and 122 of the Penal Code. But in circumstances like the present no means should be left unexhausted, if there is to be a trial, of presenting the case in a perfect and conclusive form, as defects in the chain of facts tend to show weakness in the Government information; and failure only weakens authority."

65. Subsequently, on fresh evidence having been discovered against Ibrahim Mundul and Ameer Khan, the Officiating Advocate-General considered the evidence sufficient, and authorized their prosecution.

66. It was at first proposed to secure the services of a barrister, but the proposal was laid aside, on the score of economy, and Mr. O'Kinealy, Joint-Magistrate of Mymensingh, was deputed to conduct the Wahabee prosecutions. The Advocate-General having considered the evidence in the case against Moulvy Ameerooddin of Malda stronger than against the rest of the prisoners, I proceeded to Malda to prepare for the prosecution of Ameerooddin. When the evidence was at first collected, it was only necessary to establish a *prima facie* case against the prisoners, to enable the Government to grant warrants of detention under Regulation III of 1818. A judicial trial was not contemplated at that time; however, during my second visit to Malda, I secured sufficient evidence to warrant a judicial trial. The defect in the evidence collected previously at Malda, was the absence of witnesses to prove the waging of war against the English by the fanatics. I applied to Colonel Pollock and to Colonel Chamberlain, who were on the frontier, to supply the defect. Both officers did their utmost to help me. There was some delay in getting the witnesses down so great a distance as the North-West Frontier is from Malda. The following copy of a letter from Colonel Chamberlain, dated Camp Bignotur, the 20th June 1870, will show the interest the Colonel took in this matter, and how zealous he was in affording me every aid:-

"A party of six men have left this *via Muree en route* to Malda, to assist in the prosecution.

"Nothing but the most pressing demands for their services would have let me send them away from this, where they have been so useful, and understand the work demanded of them completely.

"The head man in charge of the moonshee of my regiment whom I deputed to Pelosa last cold-weather. He can therefore testify to facts he has seen. I afterwards deputed him to visit Mulka, Chumla valley, &c., and he sent in most admirable reports of the whole of his visits, supplemented by maps of the route, &c.

"I also send you both Mahomedans and Hindoos, and the Mooushee will explain all about them, and what they can prove. The only word I have spoken to them is "to tell the truth and shame the devil."

They are acquainted with the following facts:-

1st.- That the colony is assembled for no other purpose than to wage war against the Queen.

2nd.- That the remittances are sent by friends and relations in Hindustan, to help in this business.

3rd.- That the moulvy and his followers have waged war against the

Queen- to wit, they assisted the Pathans in the late Black Mountain campaign, and this was after the Umbeyla war.

67. Mahomed Israel, one of the men sent by Colonel Chamberlain, proved a very important witness; he is the son of the Kotab Moollah, well known on the frontier. His evidence corroborated the despatches from the Foreign Office regarding the waging of war by the fanatics against British troops. He had known the crescentaders for the last twenty years, and he deposed that their main object was to fight the English and conquer Hindustan.

During the trials at Malda and Rajmehal I could not leave those places for a single day, and I was compelled to trust entirely to Baboo Ishree Pershad to carry on the work at Patna. I drew his attention to the corroborative evidence required to support the statements already recorded against Ameer Khan, Hushmutdad Khan, and Peer Mahomed.

68. Baboo Ishree Pershad had with him at Patna Abdoollah Kawaitee, Oomaid Ali, Boodhum Lal, and Ameer Ali, and he had them re-examined by the Joint-Magistrate of Patna, and copies of their statements were sent to the Inspector-General of Police, and were by him forwarded to Government; but beyond the first two identifying Ameenooddin, the Wahabee agent at Delhi, their re-examination was not of any material service to the prosecution. Shortly after Baboo Ishree Pershad returned to Patna, on the 1st of November 1869; there was a split amongst his subordinates. I received a report from Baboo Ishree Pershad in December 1869, sending me a copy and a translation of a petition which had been presented by one of his informers, Meer Wazid Ali, on the 29th of November 1869, to the Cantonment Magistrate of Dinapore, Colonel Emerson, charging Meer Ahmed Ali, (whom Baboo Ishree Pershad described in his diary as an old acquaintance of his, and whom he had recommended for employment as a sub-inspector of police, and who at his request was left in charge of Dinapore when Baboo Ishree Pershad went with me to the Punjab) with extorting thousands of rupees from several persons named in the petition, whom he had threatened with arrest. It was Meer Ahmed Ali who appears to have introduced Meer Wazid Ali to Baboo Ishree Pershad, and Wazid Ali had given evidence before the Cantonment Magistrate;

* Abdoollah Kawaitee.

Jhugroo.

Mungloo.

Boodhun Lal.

Ameer Ali.

Wazid Ali.

Boodhoo Khan.

Abdoollah, Head Constable.

Goopi Constable.

Amir Mul.

Moorad Ali.

Khoda Bux.

and it is matter for regret that Baboo Ishree Pershad could not prevent the scandal arising from this unseemly dispute amongst his underlings,* for it now appears that Boodhun Lal, Ameer Ali, and Abdoollah Kawaitee, supported Wazid Ali in these charges. A copy of the petition was sent to the District Superintendent of Police by Colonel Emerson, and was brought to the notice of the Magistrate by that officer; but the Magistrate very rightly did not consider an inquiry at *that time* advisable. It is said that Wazid claimed a share of certain sums which

Meer Ahmed Ali is reported to have received, and not receiving a share put in the petition to Colonel Emerson at the instigation of Abdoollah Khan, a brother-in-law of Peer Mahomed, who, finding disunion in the enemy's camp,

gladly availed himself if [sic] it. I saw it would seriously compromise the case against Peer Mahomed if there was even a shadow of truth in the charges brought against the sub-inspector Ahmed Ali; and I suggested to the Inspector-General of Police that he might be transferred to Bhaugulpore, which was done.

69. Baboo Ishree Pershad reported on the 2nd of September 1870, as follows:-

"With greatest difficulty, through Moorad Ali, constable of the Patna police, in whom I have great confidence, and who have [sic] always helped me, I have got a man named Abdoollah, who is the long acquaintance and distant relation of the former. This Abdoollah has been serving Ameer Khan and Hushmutdad Khan for about ten years, and at present he is employed by Hushmutdad Khan as an agent of a hide godown in the Tirhoot district. His income by this employment is about Rs. 40 a month. Abdoollah shows his willingness to speak all he knows, but he says that after giving evidence he will lose his employment, and would not be trusted by any other native; and consequently he will come to grief, and his family will be ruined for want of food. If he could get hope of securing any employment of Rs. 50 monthly salary from Government, he would without any fear come forward and give evidence. I have detained the man at Patna, and ask your instructions as to what reply I should give to the man. If you think that you would be able to supply him with Rs. 50 after giving evidence, I may have his deposition recorded before the Magistrate, and send it to you for your perusal. It would not be difficult to give him a sub-inspectorship in the police. I have talked enough with the man, but without getting word about employment he will not come forward."

Considering the evidence of this man might be of great use, I had his statement recorded without binding myself to any promise. It was arranged that he should return to his employment in Tirhoot for the present, and remain there till he was required. This man was examined at the preliminary trial before the Magistrate of Patna, and also before the sessions court; but his evidence was not very useful to the prosecution, for he mentioned no facts that could be corroborated, and it was found afterwards that he was a man of no standing; his evidence could not be relied on, as he was a relation of a common police constable. His statements carried little or no weight.

70. Baboo Ishree Pershad, in his letter dated 10th April 1870 informed me-

"That Abdool Hameed, the son of Moulvy Ahmedoollah (the leader of the Wahabees convicted at Patna in 1865), had proposed to assist in procuring evidence, if he could get pardon for his two younger brothers who have returned from *jehad*. I have not regarded it much before; but as you want some additional evidence against Ameer Khan and Hushmutdad Khan, I proposed through Moulvy Ali Kureem to see Moulvy Abdool Hameed. I met him on the evening of the 14th instant at Moulvy Ali Kureem's house, when he said that if his two younger brothers be pardoned, he will assist us as far as he could; but he would never appear as

a witness. He will point out the clues, and we will have to mark them out. On my asking as to what sort of clues he will give us he said that if he can see the books of Peer Mahomed and Ameer Khan, he would be able to point out items in their books which are entered in a blind way but in reality they are *jehad* funds, I understand that until some person states the meaning and explains those entries, it would not be evidence; but I wish to try and see to what this commencement [sic] will lead us. He further says, that he would be able to tell the names of mahajuns, from whom large amounts of goldmohurs had been bought by Ameer Khan and others for remittance to *jehad* and we will have to manage further. I have told him to give the clues of those men who have recently returned from *jehad*, to which he also agreed. He has promised that he will be able to look into the books once in a week, and he will commence from next week. He wants me to go to a Moulvy Ali Kureem's house, where he will do the work secretly. I inform you of all these, and solicit your instructions. If Moulvy Abdool Hameed's assistance resulted to some use, could his brothers be pardoned? They were very young when they went with their uncle Fyaz Ali to the *jehad* colony, whence they have run away, and are now somewhere in this country. If it be possible, direct me to accept the bargain and to commence to deal with them. You understand these men as well as I do. I do not like to deal with them without your orders. As there are personal dangers and other risks as he does not like to do anything openly."

I lost no time in submitting a copy of Baboo Ishree Pershad's demi-official letter to the Secretary to the Government of India in the Home Department with my letter No. 13, dated 17th April 1870, as follows:-

"I have the honor to submit an extract from a demi-official communication from Baboo Ishree Pershad, Deputy Magistrate, who is stationed at Patna to assist me in the inquiries connected with the Wahabees in that city. It appears that Abdool Hameed, who is the eldest son of Moulvy Ahmedoollah, resides at Patna. He is the son of that Moulvy Ahmedoollah who was sentenced to transportation for life in the Patna trials in 1865, and is now at the Andamans. Abdool Hameed's two younger brothers were taken by their uncle, Fyaz Ali, to Mulka and Sittanah, while they were minors. They have, it appears, left the Wahabee colony, and are, I believe, somewhere about Kurnal. Abdool Hameed proposes to assist Baboo Ishree Pershad with information, and to point out the entries in the books of the principal Wahabees, which refer to collections for *jehad*; on condition that his two younger brothers receive a pardon, and are permitted to return to their home in the city of Patna, he can afford valuable aid in the present inquiries. I beg to suggest that his two younger brothers may be permitted to return home, and to live there unmolested so long as they do not take any part in the Wahabee movements at Patna; they will be (as Abdool Hameed is now) under the direct surveillance of the police, and there they will find it difficult to carry on any intrigues. At present they wander over India, and have an

opportunity of fomenting sedition wherever they go, without any kind of restraint. It will be preferable to have them at Patna, where they can be watched. There is also the fact that they were taken to Mulka by their uncle while they were minors. If permitted to do so, I would simply communicate to Abdool Hameed that his two younger brothers may return to Patna without fear of being molested."

I addressed Baboo Ishree Pershad the accompanying demi-official letter on the 18th of April 1870, in which I warned him that Abdool Hameed may be playing false:-

"I have applied through the Home Officer for a pardon for the two brothers of Abdool Hameed. I need not tell you that he may now point out any items he chooses as *jehad* fund money, and so long as he does not give his evidence in support of what he points out, his doing so will be of no use. These men try to make it appear they are friendly to the Government, to enable them to carry on their intrigues more securely. Let me know what he does; you may employ him; for I believe there will be no objection to pardon his two brothers."

The Government of India agreed to the proposal on condition "Abdool Hameed kept to his word, and afforded good information." Baboo Ishree Pershad was accordingly informed, as follows, by my letter dated 17th May 1870:-

"The Government of India has no objection to let the two brothers of Abdool Hameed return and live at Patna, i.e. if Abdool Hameed has given you any good information which can be used as evidence. If he has, or will do so, I am directed to write to the Inspector-General of Police, the Commissioner of the Division, and the Magistrate of Patna, that his two brothers may be permitted to return and live unmolested at Patna. Let me know therefore what information Abdool Hameed has given you, and what use you can make of the information?"

71. I again informed Baboo Ishree Pershad in my letter dated 19th May 1870, as follows:- The India Government has no objection to permit Abdool Hameed's brothers to come to Patna, if you can certify that Abdool Hameed has given you any valuable information. Tell him so, if he acts up to his engagement. I have received authority to let his two younger brothers reside at Patna.

On the 3rd of May 1870, Baboo Ishree Pershad reported: "I have looked over the books of Ellahie Bux deceased, and those of Ameer Khan with Moulvy Abdool Hameed, son of Moulvy Ahmedoollah, but he has not pointed out any item in them. There are still the books of Peer Mahomed to show Abdool Hameed, which will be over in two or three weeks as he works with me only once a week." On the 20th May 1870, I received the following communication from Baboo Ishree Pershad. "I am unable to send you the abstract of Ellahie Bux's books as soon as you wanted them, as neither Ameer Ali nor Boodhun Lal are with me; they are gone to their homes. I have sent for them, and will comply with your request as soon as they will come here."

72. "I showed Moulvy Abdool Hameed the books of Ellahie Bux and Khurshid Ali, &c. I spent several weeks with him, but he could not point out anything in them. I found out his whole intention was to extract from me as to what use I could bring those books."

I then addressed the following demi-official letter, dated 27th May 1870, to Baboo Ishree Pershad:-

"Now that the prosecutions are drawing near, you should put together all the evidence about the men at Patna, and endeavour to get fresh evidence, especially against Ameer Khan, Hashmutdad Khan, Mobaruk Ali, &c. I should like to have definite information about Musahib Ali. Let me know the particulars about Ali Kureem's case. I fear that Abdool Hameed has been humbugging you. I am sorry you wrote to me about applying to Government to obtain a pardon for his two younger brothers, until you were certain that he was in earnest. I must now write to Government to say that you have been deceived. I am waiting to hear further from you on this subject. At this time none of the witnesses ought to be permitted to leave Patna. I am very sorry you let Ameer Ali and Boodhun Lal go home."

73. At last, on the 29th of May 1870, Baboo Ishree Pershad wrote to say-

"I know well Ali Kureem as well as Abdool Hameed. I have always told you that they would never say anything for Government. We have lost nothing. If he has not given information, his brothers will not be pardoned. There is no hope of getting any information from Abdool Hameed. You will have to write to Government that Abdool Hameed has not given me any information."

I must remark that Baboo Ishree Pershad never told me that Ali Kureem and Abdool Hameed would never give any good information; on the contrary he always led me to believe that they were inclined to assist him. I have entered fully into this matter regarding Abdool Hameed, to point out how neatly the Wahabees managed to play their cards. Here is an instance in which an officer of Baboo Ishree Pershad's experience was deceived by them, to show to one of their chief agents the evidence we had in the books of Elahie Bux, Khorshaid Ali, Ameer Khan, and Peer Mahomed. This evidently was their sole object in making the proposition they did through Baboo Ishree Pershad; and it is matter of surprise that Baboo Ishree Pershad should have spent weeks, as he states he did, in showing these books to Abdool Hameed, before discovering that Abdool Hameed would not give him any information. Before these books were shown to Abdool Hameed, Ameer Khan, Hushmutdad Khan, and Peer Mahomed, were laboring under the weight of a guilty conscience, and reports were rife that they intended to confess their guilt; but after this farce they appeared very confident that we had no tangible evidence against them.

74. On the 18th of September 1870, Baboo Ishree Pershad sent me a copy of the statement made by one Ellahie Bux, a brother of the famous Moulvy Muxood Ali of Dinapore, who was one of the leaders at Mulka and Sittanah, and who had died there. The Baboo wrote "that Ellahie Bux knows much more than he has spoken before the Joint-Magistrate. He may or may not speak

the truth in future. I may not omit to inform you that he is a troublesome man. After great difficulty he has spoken so much at present.

The statement of Ellahie Bux taken on oath before C.F. Worsley, Esq., Officiating Joint-Magistrate of Patna, on the 16th September 1870.

"My name is Ellahie Bux. I am son of Sufdar Ali, aged 34 years, by caste Sheik, and resident of Drawy, pergunnah Gyaspore, zillah Patna.

"Moulvy Muxood Ali was my own and eldest brother. He died at Mulka Sittanah about eight years ago. He was chief of the fanatics (Ameerul Mohajuns) and succeeded Moulvy Inayut Ali of Sadikpore. After Moulvy Muxood Ali's death Moulvy Abdoolah became chief. From the age to 12 to 21 years I used to study at Sadikpore. At 23 years of age I was employed by Ameer Khan as his gomastah at Bhaugulpore, on the recommendation of Shah Mahomed Hossein of Nunmaneah, a *mohulla* of Patna. I remained at Bhaugulpore for 1½ years, and was then transferred to Hajeeppore, where I was employed as Mooktear by Moulvy Ahmedoollah of Sadikpore, and remained with him until he was convicted. Previous to the arrest of Ahmedoollah, I know that Ameer Khan and Hushmutdad Khan used to send *zekat* and *fitra* and *Kurbani-ka-chumra* (i.e., 2½ per cent on their principal profits, and two seers of wheat per head at the *Eed* festival, and the price of the skins of animals sacrificed at the *Bukreed* festival) to Moulvy Furhut Hossein, and after the latter's death to Moulvy Yahiya Ali. These contributions were to be applied to the expenses of *jehad*. Hushmutdad Khan used frequently to come to Ahmedoollah's house, and I used to see him there, but he conversed to Ahmedoollah in private. I gained my knowledge, being the brother of Moulvy Muxood Ali, and my sister being married to Hafiz Abdool Mujed, son of Moulvy Inayut Ali, and being myself brought up from childhood at Sadikpore. My sister went with Moulvy Inayut Ali to Mulka Sittanah. Ameer Khan and Hushmutdad Khan, to my knowledge, used to invest *jehad* collections in trade upto 1857 A.D. After that year Elahie Bux, the [hide] merchant, used to invest the collections in trade. After Moulvy Yahiya Ali's conviction Moulvy Mobaruck Ali was appointed his successor at Sadickpore."

["]Rumzan, servant of Yahiya Ali, used to fetch money sometimes from Ameer Khan's *kotee* and sometimes Abdool Guffoor used to fetch money from it. I never saw either of the two men actually come out of the *kotee* with money. Ramzan once came with about Rs. 150, which he said he had obtained at Ameer Khan's *kotee*. I do not remember either having seen Ameer Khan or Hushmutdad Khan, or any of their servants, deliver money to Ahmedoollah. I used frequently to see Ameer Khan and Hushmutdad Khan attending the *kafila* at Sadickpore, and listening to Furhut Hossein's and Yahiya Ali's preachings at the Nunmaneah mosque, where Shah Mahomed Hossein used to preach *jehad*. I know nothing of Wahabee proceedings subsequent to Ahmedoollah's conviction.

C.F. WORSLEY,
Officiating Joint-Magistrate

N.B.—The deponent, in my opinion, evidently knows a great deal more than he is willing to disclose. From his intimate relations with prominent Wahabees, he must necessarily have had personal and direct knowledge of all the circumstances of which he purposes to have had merely indirect and mediate knowledge. He is ready to speak vaguely and generally to an extent, but is particularly cautious about stating any thing that would be really useful evidence.

C.F. WORSLEY,
Officiating Joint-Magistrate

75. It will be remarked that the information relates to matters prior to Ahmedoolah's trial, and contains nothing new or important. This man was examined as a witness during the Patna trials both before the Joint-Magistrate and the Sessions Judge. His evidence is of the same unsatisfactory description ready to speak of events long past, and to deal in general terms of every thing but what would be evidence against the men on their trial. I believe that this man and Abdool Hameed were purposely put in the way of Baboo Ishree Pershad, to ostensibly appear inclined to help the prosecution, but in reality to find out what evidence we had against the prisoners, and what was the nature of the evidence we sought. In fact, these two men and several others played the same game at Patna that Mooftee Mahomed Hossein played at Peshawur and Ramzan at Rawul Pindee.

76. On the 28th of June 1870, Baboo Ishree Pershad reported as follows:-

"I have the honor to report that, on the 5th instant, Mahomed Ishak, son of Mushraf Ali, resident of mouzah Dehree, pergunnah Nowbutpore Balye, thannah Maoawree, zillah Patna, came to me with *Jhugroo* and *Mungloo* of Dinapore, and stated that Mahomed Oomar of Dehree was a Wahabee agent, and had always been in the habit of collecting *zekat* from rich persons, and *ooshur*, i.e., fortieth part of field produce from cultivators, and *fitra* and *sudka* from Wahabees of the village of Dehree, and other villages in its vicinity, for the expenses of *jehad*; and that he transmitted the same to the Ameer of the Mojahodeens, through Peer Mahomed of Dinapore. I told Mahomed Ishak that I could not act on his information, until I found his statement based on some reliable grounds; on which he answered that Mahomed Oomar was his relation; that he had admittance to his house, and had often been entrusted by Mahomed Oomar with writing accounts, and letters, &c., and that if he could ever have an opportunity he would bring some papers relating to the collections made by him. On the 18th instant, Mahomed Ishak came again to me with a book containing accounts of collections, and other memoranda, regarding the transmission of money, and informations received from Moulvie Ahmedoolah from 1263 to 1290 Hezira i.e. for twenty years past. As I was just ready to start for Malda I could not have Mahomed Ishak examined by the Magistrate. I did take his statement, a copy of which with the book given by him, I enclose with this report:-

"The statement of Mahomed Ishak, and the book implicate his father as well as other persons therein mentioned. His father is a mooktear in the

Patna collectorate. I am not acquainted with Mahomed Ishak's antecedents. He says that he was formerly employed by captain Hedayut Ali Khan Bahadur. He says that contents of the book are in the handwriting of Mahomed Oomar himself, which could be identified by every person in the village who knows to read and write.

77. *Statement made by Mahomed Ishak:-*

"I was formerly employed by Captain Hedayut Ali Khan for seven or eight months. I left his service. I had to read and write when in the service of the said Captain. There are twenty-five or thirty Mahomedan families in my village who are all kinsmen; among them fifteen or sixteen houses male sex exists in other only widows and helpless females are left. In my village collection for *jehad*, i.e. war with English, is made. Every Mahomedan there, according to his means, pays contribution to *jehad*. Those who are cultivators give a seer per maund and in every house at the time of cooking a meal a handful of grain is put aside for the purpose. In *Bukreed* they give hides of the animals slaughtered. In *Eed* they pay *fitra*, some $2\frac{1}{2}$ or some $1\frac{1}{2}$ seers or wheat or oat per head. All these are collected by Mahomed Oomar. Mahomed Oomar also collects in neighbouring villages. Whatever collections were made every year, Mahomed Oomar sent it to Hadjee Peer Mahomed of Dinapore per his servants or peadahs. Sometimes he took it himself to Peer Mahomed. Since I reached the age of understanding, I am acquainted that Mahomed Oomar collected *jehad* funds, and transmitted them to Peer Mahomed of Dinapore. I know as I have seen grain, &c., being collected. Moreover, my father also pays cash, and the grain termed *mooty* (handful) every year. My house is close to Mahomed Oomar. I have friendship with him. Nothing is concealed from me of him. I could see the papers of Mahomed Oomar relating to the villages and courts, write letters and accounts for him now and then. Mahomed Oomar knows to read and write well; but he has become short-sighted now: he cannot read and write unless he takes papers very close to his eyes. Mahomed Oomar sent several men of mouzah Dehree, and of its vicinity, to *jehad*. Some of them are still there, others have returned. Soobhane, son of Boolakee, Ramzan Ali, son of Warris Ali, and Ahmed, came back from *jehad*; they are in the village, except the latter, who is gone out of the village. I do not know where he is now. In the month of *Rubeoolsanee* 1286, Mahomed Oomar with Peeroo Khitmutgar and other men of the neighbouring village went to *jehad* and came back in the month of *Sawal*, after seven months. Every person of the village is aware of this. Mahomed Oomar had two brothers, one Moonshee Mahomed Sadik, record-keeper of the Judge's court, Patna, who died about three years ago. The other brother was Moulvy Mahomed Yahiya, who was moonsiff of Behar, and died about seven years ago. They both were bigoted Wahabees. Mahomed Oomar preaches and makes collections for *jehad* very heartily. Mahomed Oomar is a shareholder of 4 annas in the village Dehree. The rest, 12 annas, are held by other maliks. My father is a shareholder of $2\frac{1}{2}$ annas in the village,

which he had alienated to my stepmother. My father also preaches and assists in collection; but Mahomed Oomar is the principal man. The men of the villages help him in the collection. My father is a mooktear in the collectorate of Patna. Moulvy Ameer Ali, vakeel of the civil court, Patna, is also a Wahabee. His house was in Amtooa, about ten or twelve coss from my village. He pays for *jehad* to Mahomed Oomar. Meer Anwar Hossein of Shahabazpore also pays *jehad* fund to Mahomed Oomar. He often took money to Peer Mahomed. Neaz Ali of mouzah Babrawan, and Fotteh Ali of mouzah Kurayet, pay for the *jehad* fund to Mahomad Oomar and other Wahabees kept regular accounts, books of collections, without any fear; now they do not write generally in open way. They write on pieces of paper in hints and blind ways. I have brought a book from Mahomed Oomar without his knowledge, which contains accounts of collections made in former times. Any how I have brought the book with the view of well wishes (khairkhuhee) to Government. I know to read and write. I saw the book many times. When I got an opportunity I took it. The collection *baitoolmal* (Jehad funds) is entered there, name by name by name, in the handwriting of Mahomed Oomar, but it contains the accounts till 1280 *Hejira*. After that year on what paper he wrote I have not seen. I am sure there are other papers and letters, &c. relating to this matter in Mahomed Oomar's house. I am careful of it. Whenever I will have opportunity I will bring other papers also. I have married the daughter of Shah Feda Hossein of Dinapore. I go now and then to Dehree, and stay there four or five days and come back to Dinapore. I took this book from the almirah of Mahomed Oomar on the 13th *Rubeoolawal* 1287. I have brought this to prove my statement. I will try to bring other papers also."

78. I replied to this letter by letter No. 95, dated 12th July 1870, informing Baboo Ishree Pershad that I had sent a copy of his letter, with its enclosure to the Inspector-General of Police. I remarked: "it would certainly have been preferable had the book been obtained in an other manner than it has been by Mahomed Ishak. Indeed, I should have preferred your searching the house of Mahomed Oomar in the first instance and finding it yourself, but this cannot be helped now; and it would savour of fastidiousness to neglect so promising a clue, simply because Mohamed Ishak does not bear the best of characters." I requested the Baboo to lay the whole case before the Magistrate of Patna, to show him the document brought by Mahomed Ishak, and to obtain warrants to search the house of Mahomed Oomar and Mushruf Ali. I remarked; "Your subsequent proceedings will depend a great deal on the result of the search, by which means it is likely that you will find other documents which may throw light in the matter. After the search you should test the entries in the book, which will not be difficult since so many persons are named. I beg you will report after making the search." I also reported the case to the Inspector-General in my letter No. 94, dated the 12th July 1871. I stated therein that "hitherto the inquiries at Patna had been confined to the city of Patna and to the town of Dinapore. No attempt had been made in the villages, nor has any evidence been obtained from any persons who paid these contributions, or who

had been in the habit of realizing them. In Malda, Rajmehal, Rajshahye, &c., on the other hand, the great object has been to obtain evidence of this class, and to have the statements recorded before a Magistrate. When Baboo Ishree Pershad came to Malda in April last, I pointed out to him what appeared to me a defect in his investigation, and suggested to him the propriety of extending his inquiries beyond the limits of Patna and Dinapore." On the 23rd of July 1870, Baboo Ishree Pershad reported:-

"That Mahomed Ishak had been to him with two letters having on them post marks, and that he had found them in a pillow of Mahomed Oomar; and that the letters appeared genuine because of the post marks; and as the writing in the letters and their covers are similar, their contents convinced me that Mahomed Oomar is concerned in collecting and transmitting men and money for *jehad*. I could not put off the matter any longer. On the 21st instant I took Mahomed Ishak to the Magistrate, laid before him the book and the letters given by Mahomed Ishak, and showed him the recent order of Government. The Magistrate examined Mahomed Ishak on oath, and issued warrants for the arrest of Mahomed Oomar and Mushraf Ali, and also granted search warrants to search their houses. These warrants were entrusted to the Assistant Superintendent of Police. On the night of the 21st, I, in company with the Assistant Superintendent of Police, proceeded to mouzah Dehree, which is about 21 miles from Bankipore. On the morning of the 22nd, the assistant superintendent arrested Mahomed Oomar in his house. Mahomed Mushruf Ali, a mooktear of the Patna Magistrate's court, was not found there. Their houses were searched, and a large quantity of papers and a number of books were found. The Magistrate has remanded [sic] Mahomed Oomar to *hejut* for seven days, and ordered the assistant superintendent to examine the papers with me and report. Among the papers found in the house of Mahomed Oomar there are four letters, copies and translations of which I will submit soon: they are very important. Three of them were found in a pillow and one in a box. Among the former three, two have post marks on them. The result of the examination of other papers will be reported. The letters given by Mahomed Ishak and found by search, appear to have been written by the same person who was sent by Peer Mahomed and Mahomed Oomar to *jehad*, and who, having ran away from thence, is according to the latest news at Roorkee."

79. In my letter No. 117, dated the 29th July 1870, I reported Baboo Ishree Pershad's proceedings to the Inspector-General of Police, informing him that I had not yet received copies or translations of the letters, but Baboo Ishree Pershad pronounced them "very important." I added, the prisoners cannot be detained in custody for more than fourteen days, and there was sufficient *prima facie* evidence in the statement made by Mahomed Ishak, as well as in the letters already sent, translated by Baboo Ishree Pershad, to warrant the detention of Mahomed Ishak and Syed Mahomed Mushruf Ali. I suggested that, pending further inquiry, application may be made to Government for warrants under Regulation III of 1818 against the two men." On receiving copies and translations of the letters from Baboo Ishree Pershad, I forwarded them to the

Inspector-General with my letter No. 122, dated 7th August 1870. The Inspector-General of Police supported the suggestion I made, and applied to the Government for the warrants under Regulations III of 1818, which the Government, by letter No. 3647, dated the 4th August, to the address of the Commissioner of Patna, refused to grant, "considering the evidence insufficient against the accused persons, and the statements of Mahomed Ishak open to great suspicion," and directed further inquiries. The Inspector-General of Police sent me these orders, with a request that "I should urge the necessity of caution on Baboo Ishree Pershad before making arrests."

80. I explained to the Inspector-General of Police in my letter No. 128, dated the 9th August, my reasons for applying for a warrant of detention against Mahomed Oomar. I sent the Inspector-General a copy of my instructions to Baboo Ishree Pershad in the case against Mahomed Oomar, and remarked that "I intended that *first* Mahomed Oomar's house should be searched and before we proceeded further." But after the Baboo had obtained a warrant of arrest from the Magistrate, and had arrested Mahomed Oomar, and had found four letters similar to those produced by Mahomed Ishak, and two of these letters had on them post marks of Nynce Tael. - I considered these letters sufficient corroboration of the statements of Mahomed Ishak and suggested that a warrant of detention should issue under Regulation III of 1818.

81. I received a demi-official letter from the Inspector-General dated 22nd August 1870, in which he informed me "that he had been in correspondence with the Commissioner of Patna on the subject of Mahomed Oomar, who had been released on bail pending the result of the police inquiry." The Commissioner wrote "that the report at Patna was that the charge is the result of a conspiracy against him. The Commissioner, however, thought there were reasons for doubting this - one being the finding of the letters, and that *Rahat Hossein*, who tried to corrupt the cavalry at Patna during the mutiny, is said to be a relation of his; *also that Ishree Pershad is alarmed at not getting the full support of his department.* This must mean either the detective department, or perhaps the police department; and I cannot see that you and I have failed him, seeing that we both recommended sanction to his proceedings, and Government withheld it. This should be pointed out to him." In reply I wrote to the Inspector-General of Police on the 24th of August 1870, demi-officially, as follows:-

"I received your letter of the 22nd yesterday, and hasten to reply it. As regards Ishree Pershad complaining that he has not been supported by the police department, I am at a loss to understand what he means, and have asked him to state clearly to what he alludes, and I shall submit his reply to you. So far as I can judge, he has been fully supported; in fact, on the other hand, it would appear according to his own showing, that I have placed too much reliance on his judgment in the case of Oomar, and that I have been misled by trusting to Ishree Pershad's acuteness and great knowledge of Patna people for which he has hitherto had credit."

"He brought Ishak to Maldah, I examined him myself, and at Ishree pershad's request gave him an advance of Rs. 6; but at the same time I distrusted him and the man *Mangloo*, who was mainly instrumental in

bringing Ishak to the Baboo, for I have always believed Mungloo to be a rogue."

"After Ishree Pershad returned to Patna, he sent me report dated 23rd July 1870, stating that Ishak having brought him two letters with post marks on them, he no longer doubted Oomar's guilt, and that he had taken action and had arrested Oomar.

Shortly after, I received a petition from Oomar's wife, which I sent at once to Ishree Pershad to report upon. I then received a letter from Ishree Pershad, dated 11th August 1870 in which he states, "I am very sorry now that I acted on Mahomed Ishak's information: it appears very suspicious on the part of Mahomed Ishak now."

I must confess I was greatly surprised on receipt of this letter, and had I been able to leave Malda, I should have gone up to Patna at once. I however wrote to him as follows:-

"I cannot exactly understand your note of the 11th instant, just received through Nuthoo head constable, unless you mean what Nuthoo tells me that you believe the case against Mahomed Oomar false. If so, it is a bad business, and you have been grossly deceived. The best policy now is to confess this to the Commissioner and the Magistrate, and have Oomar released from bail, and the entire proceedings quashed. I warned you in one of my letters that 'I feared they were trying' to make a cat's paw of you."

"But you should see what can be made of the entries in the red book, they look genuine. When was Ukram's property attached by Mahomed Oomar? Is it likely that the post marks on the letters from Nynee Tal and Roorkee are false? Inquire into these and other points before you give up the case as false."

I am certain I could not have done more; but I have not yet received any replies to these questions, nor a reply to the petitions I sent him. Again, on the 20th August, he sends me a letter, in which he states:- "I have been making every effort to get evidence to corroborate the evidence of Ishak, but without success. But I am not satisfied yet that the statement of Ishak is true."

To this I replied: "that he should have satisfied himself on this important point before he proceeded to arrest Oomar."

"Up to the receipt of the letter from Ishree Pershad, sent through Nuthoo, I did all I could to support him, even though he acted contrary to my instruction, and arrested Oomar before he had searched his house. But what further support can a man expect when he himself writes and tells me that he distrusts his own case? His complaint of want of support is so inconsistent with his letters to me, that I trust you will send the Commissioner a copy of the letter, and ask him to get Ishree Pershad to produce my letters and his reports, and demiofficial letters relating to Oomer's case, for the Commissioner's perusal."

"I am unwilling to give up the case, as you will perceive from my letters, without further investigation. I have sent copies of the letters to

Nynee Tal and Roorkee myself, and learning that a man named Mahomed Oomar had been arrested on the frontier some months back, and released by the authorities there for want of proof, I have applied for the records relating to this case and for a descriptive roll of the man. In fact, I believe, there is some truth in the case, or I would not have applied for Mahomed Oomar's detention."

"With respect of Ishree Pershad going to Ghazeepore, I find Mr. Eden has written to Mr. O'Kinealy to attend to the case of Ameer Khan. This you will see from the recent proceedings in Calcutta is very important. I beg therefore you will kindly write and explain this to the Commissioner, and request that Ishree Pershad exert himself about the all-important case at Patna. We can attend to Ghazeepore hereafter, especially as I have written to Colonel Chamberlain to send me some men from Barh he had arrested on the frontier."

82. I addressed the following letter, No. 151, dated the 25th August 1870, to Baboo Ishree Pershad:-

"The Inspector-General of Police has called upon me to know wherein, and in what respects you complain of not having been fully supported by the police department in the case of Mahomed Oomar? I beg you will send me a clear and full reply to this question.

"I must point out to you that, though you arrested Mahomed Oomar contrary to my orders before searching his house, still, when I heard you had done so, I at once applied to the Inspector-General for a warrant of detention. The Inspector-General also recommended it, but the Government refused the recommendation. It appears to me the police has done all that could be done to support you. I could not leave Maldah, as you know on account of the state trial pending here.

"It was only on receipt of your letters of the 11th and the 20th August that I found you distrusted your own case, and then what could I do or say to support you?

"I have sent copies of the letters to Nynee Tal and Roorkee, and also applied for a record from the frontier relating to the arrest of one Mahomed Oomar some months back. I still think some thing may be made of the entries in the red *khurchha* book.

"The Government having written to attend to the case of Ameer Khan, it is all-important that you should devote your time and attention to his case, and collect all the evidence you can at Patna, as requested in my letter No. 138, dated 17th August 1870.

"Ghazeepore can be attended to hereafter. I expected to get some men of Barah and who have been arrested on the frontier, and I think we shall have a better chance of succeeding with their assistance."

83. The letter of Baboo Ishree Pershad, referred to in the 3rd paragraph of the above letter, informed me "that he had gone through the papers of Mushraf Ali (father of Ishak) which were brought after search, and nothing in support of the statement of Ishak has been found;" also the remarkable admission- "I myself am not satisfied that the statement of Ishak is true."

84. In another letter, No. 150, dated 22nd August 1870, I informed Baboo Ishree Pershad with reference to this admission, "that the first thing you should have done was to satisfy yourself that it was true before you proceeded to arrest Mahomed Oomar."

85. In reply to my letter No. 151, Baboo Ishree Pershad, in his letter dated 29th August 1870, stated that he had made no complaint against the police; on the country the police had done all they could to help him, and that he was under the impression that I had approved of his proceedings. He added- "I am, and have always been, attentive to the case of Ameer Khan, and to collect further evidence, but unfortunately I have not succeeded, nor have I any strong hope to succeed in adding more to what I obtained before."

86. With reference to the further inquiries directed by Government in the case of Oomar, Baboo Ishree Pershad was sent to the village of Dehree to make inquiries respecting the alleged collections for *jehad* and the names entered in the book which Ishak had produced. The Baboo, in his letter dated the 6th of August 1870, wrote as follows:-

"I have the honour to report that on the 3rd August I went to the village of Dehree, and stopped there three days; but I could not find any fresh evidence in support of the statement of Mahomed Ishak regarding the collection for *jehad*. The Mahomedan residents of the village were not to be found there, except one or two, who said that they will say whatever they have to say before the Magistrate. The Hindoo cultivators of the village deny giving any thing in the shape described by Ishak to Mahomed Oomar."

"This day another Urdoo petition has been presented by Mahomed Oomar, stating that Mahomed Ishak had acquaintance with a woman named Luchimun of Dinapore, whose relations are in regiments in the West, and that Mahomed Ishak himself had communication with the relations of the said woman. In support of this, three letters received by the woman from Nynee Tal, and one despatched by the woman from Nynee Tal, (regarding which it is said that her relations brought it to Dinapore), and two letters without covers, have been filed."

87. The case entirely broke down, and there is no doubt in my mind that Baboo Ishree Pershad was deceived by certain persons at Dinapore, and that Jhugroo and Mungloo were mainly instrumental in bringing the lad, Mahomed Ishak, forward, and in preparing the letters through some persons who were in the 32nd Native Regiment, which had gone up-country towards Nynee Tal from Dinapore.

88. Finding the attempt to prove that Peer Mahomed had sent recruits to *jehad* in collusion with Mahomed Oomar, had so signally failed, and learning from Ishree Pershad that he had "no hopes of adding anything further to the evidence against Ameer Khan." I addressed the following letter to the Inspector-General on the 1st of September 1870:-

"I have already directed Baboo Ishree Pershad to set aside all other work, and devote himself entirely to the Patna cases, relating to the men who are in jail. I have made arrangements to proceed to Pubna and to Jessore,

and work at some promising evidence in that direction. Ameer Khan's Kotee at Pubna received the *Jehad* collections from Jessore, 24-Pergunnahs, Pubna, &c., and he was intimately connected with Mean Jan Kazeef of Coomercolly, who was convicted at Umballah, and on whom Ameer Khan's letters were found. I have already sent two head constables to Pubna. I expect evidence from Colonel Chamberlain's men, who left me ten days ago. I also intend to get Mahomed Shuffee, who was pardoned, to appear with his books, and to give evidence. I know how important it is to obtain evidence against the Patna prisoners, and I will not leave a stone unturned."

89. I also addressed a letter, on the 28th August 1870, to the Commissioner of Rajshahye, in which I informed him- "I have long felt how urgent it was to work Bograh, Dinagepore, and Rungpore. From the list I have of men at present with Moulvy Abdoollah the leader of the fanatics now encamped on the North-West Frontier, at a place called Polosah, I find a number of men from Bograh are up there. The three sirdars who have come down for recruits, viz. Nassir Mahomed, Nazir Mahomed, and Shorafoollah, are natives of Bograh and Rangpore." The District Superintendent of Bograh attempted to work the clue I had communicated to him, and also certain information he had obtained through the police of the district; but the investigations fell to the ground for want of proof. The men who had been to Mulka and Sittana had passed through Patna, and I was anxious to secure their evidence regarding what they saw and heard while at Patna. I may here state that there is no doubt that the districts of Rungpore, Bograh, Dinagepore, Mymensing, Dacca, and Sylhet, are strongholds of the Wahabee sect, and these districts have not been touched. The well-known Moulvy Jynal Abdeen came from Sylhet, and every now and again I received confirmation of the existence of a number of the sect in that district. The *cossid*, Subder Ali, comes from Sylhet, and whenever any attempt is made by the police to arrest him he retreats to Sylhet. As soon as the preliminary trial of Ibrahim Mundul before the Assistant Commissioner was concluded, and the prisoner had been committed for trial to the court of sessions, I left Baboo Nobokristo Ghose to attend to the witnesses at Rajmehal during the sessions trial, and I determined to proceed with three head constables to Pubna and Jessore to discover what evidence could be had in those districts regarding the part Ameer Khan had taken in receiving collections for *jehad* and transmitting the same to Patna.

90. I went through the Soonderbuns and reached Khoolnah on the 3rd of November 1870. There I found Tukeemoooden from Jessore, who had been to *jehad*. I examined him, and he was subsequently summoned to Patna as a witness. I there learnt that Moonshee Oseemooodin had succeeded Nazir Rehanooddin as *khalifa* for the collections for *jehad* contributions at Jessore. I communicated this information to the authorities at Jessore. From Khoolnah I went to Aroon Burnee [Aura Bunia] on the 7th of November, where I found Moulvy Nassirooddin. The moulvy's name appears in the letters found in Kazeef Mean Jan's house at Coomercolly, and he had been a student in the Calcutta Madrassa. He stated that Moulvy Inayut Ali of Patna had been to his house on two occasions. The second time he preached a *jehad*, he took away

with him his brother, Bassirooddin, to Mulka, and appointed him Nassirooddin to collect money, and remit the same for *jehad*. He admitted that in 1256 B.S., he had collected *zekat* and *fitra* about Rs. 400, and had remitted the same to Moulvy Budyazumah of Misreegunge in Calcutta. He remitted about Rs. 400 every year to 1260 B.S. He paid also Rs. 200 to Furhut Hossein, a brother of Inayut Ali at Patna. In 1262, 1263, and 1264, he sent his collections direct to Patna. In 1265, 1266, and 1267, he paid the money to Kazee Mean Jan of Coomercolly. In 1267 he received orders to pay the collections over to Ameer Khan of Colootollah. The orders came from Moulvies Fyaz Ali and Yahiya Ali. Previous to this, he stated that he had seen Ameer Khan, and him concerning this order, and he agreed to receive the money. Ameer Khan knew it was *Jehad* money, and he was a partner in this business. In 1268 he went to *Jehad* himself passing through Hooghly, where he met the *Cossid* Abdool Gunny. He remained at the *Jehad* four years. He was engaged in opposing the British forces at the Sirhutty Pass, and was present at the Umbeyla battles. He admitted that he had sent sixty recruits to Mulka and Sittanah. Moulvy Nassirooddeen was summoned as a witness for the prosecution in the Patna trials. He gave his evidence fairly, but was on the whole an unwilling witness, and concealed much with which he was acquainted. He is still a staunch Wahabee.

91. I also found Moulvy Nassirooddeen's brother, Basseeroodden, who admitted that he had met Moulvy Inayut Ali at Fenwick Bazaar in Calcutta, and had followed him to Patna, where he had seen twenty-five bags of rupees brought to Moulvy Inayut Ali from Ameer Khan's house. He went with Inayut Ali to Mulka, and remained on the hills about a year. When he returned home a letter came from Patna stating that Syed Ahmed had appeared. He then went a second time to the hills with six others, and remained there two years, and then returned home.

92. I also found one Johirooddeen, of Bhatparah, in Jessore, who had been for a number of years with the fanatics, and returned with Moulvies Vilayat Ali and Inayut Ali to Patna, when they were sent back by the Punjab authorities, and entered into recognizances not to leave Patna for four years. He joined Inayut Ali in his preaching expedition through Bengal, and followed him in his wanderings through several districts until the moulvy returned to Patna, where Johirooddeen was sent to fetch money from Ameer Khan. Abdool Guffoor, Syedooddeen, and himself, went and fetched Rs. 25,000 from Ameer Khan in a cart. After receiving this sum, Moulvy Inayut Ali started for *jehad* to the hills, and witness accompanied him and remained with him till he died. The account given by this witness is graphic and detailed; there is no doubt from the various incidents which he mentions, that he spoke from personal knowledge of the facts which he mentioned.

93. From Aroora Burnee I went to a village called Paturghatta on the river Madhumutty. Here I found Moulvy Irfanooddeen, of Furreedpore district. He admitted that he was a *mureed*, or disciple, of Moulvy Vilayat Ali of Patna, and that he had been a pupil of the moulvy for thirty years. Moulvy Inayut Ali had been to Paturghatta about twenty years ago, and had resided in Irfanooddeen's house when preaching *jehad*. He appointed Moulvy Irfanooddeen a *Khalifa* to collect money for the *jehad*. For four years he had sent about Rs. 50 or Rs. 60

each year to Moulvy Budeazumah at Misreegunge, in Calcutta. After the death of Inayut Ali the work stopped for two years, until Moulvy Ibrahim, of Booraran, came to Paturghatta with authority from Moulvies Yahiya Ali and Fyaz Ali of Patna. He remained with Irfanooddeen five or six weeks, and visited his disciples, preaching to them, and collected Rs. 60 for *jehad*, which he took away with him. Irfanooddeen then received a letter from the Patna moulvies directing him to continue in the work to which Moulvy Inayut Ali had appointed him. For three years he remitted his collections to Rehanooddeen, *nazir* of Jessore. Irfanooddeen received a second letter, stating that the sums of money collected did not reach Patna, and directing him in future to send his collections to Ameer Khan of Colootollah. On receipt of this letter he went to Calcutta and had an interview with Ameer Khan, who agreed to receive the collections, and admitted that he was a partner in the work of *jehad*. For two years he remitted the collections to Ameer Khan. He admitted that Moulvy Oosman Ali had been to Paturghatta and stayed with him a month, and collected Rs. 100 from his disciples, and that he had accompanied Oosman Ali to Jessore, and had paid the money to the *nazir*. This admission was important, since it corroborated the evidence Oosman Ali had given at Umballah and Patna in 1864 and 1865; and was borne out by a letter found in the house of Oosman Ali in 1864. Irfanooddeen also admitted having sent to *jehad* several persons from the districts of Furredpore and Jessore. I reached Coomercolly on the 16th of November 1870, and there found Dymoollah Jachundar, who admitted that he was a *mureed* or disciple of Kazee Mean Jan, convicted at Umballah in 1864. That he had paid *zecat* and *fitra* for a number of years. In 1867, Kazee Mean Jan wrote a letter, and sent it through him, with Rs. 200, to the *kotee* of Ameer Khan at Pubna, to the *jehad*, and he paid it himself to Ameer Khan. The statement of this witness was corroborated by that of Meerzan Sheik, who had accompanied Dymoollah Jachundar when he took the money to Pubna.

94. I also found near Coomercolly, Turrickoollah Hajee, who admitted that he was a disciple of Moulvie Inayut Ali for the last twenty-five years, who had been twice to his village of Oosmanpore, and had preached *jehad*. Turrikoollah was appointed a *khalifa* and collected *zekat* and *fitra*, which he paid to Kazee Abdool Rohoman alias Mean Jan Kazee of Coomercolly. He paid the collections for five years to Kazee Mean Jan; when it appearing that the Kazee had been using a portion of the sums collected, and had not remitted the whole to Patna, an order came from Moulvy Fyaz Ali to send the collections to Ameer Khan in Calcutta. He also admitted that Moulvy Ibrahim, of Pulaspoore, had taken his son Heydeatoollah with him to the *jehad*, and his son returned after having been absent for seven years, and told him that the *jehad* was with the English, and that he had run away to Delhi, where he had been with Moulvy Nazir Hossein. I produced these witnesses before the Deputy Magistrate of Coomercolly, who took down their statements in full. I sent the statements to the Inspector-General of Police, who forwarded them to Government. These men were subsequently summoned as witnesses during the trials at Patna, and their evidence has been printed in the proceedings of the Joint-Magistrate of Patna, and those of the court of sessions. In my opinion

Moulvies Irfanooddeen and Nassirooddeen should both be watched by the police, for I believe they will carry on the collections for *jehad*, and remit money to the frontier, if they can possibly do so. I was told that the latter had said- "that like a reed he had bent to the storm, because there was no help for it; but the reed would stand upright again when the storm had blown over." The impression left on my mind, from all I heard and saw at Arooa Burnee, Paturghatta, and the villages round Coommercolly, Kokesah, and Mahmudpore, was, that the movement had extended greatly in the districts of Backergunge, Farreedpore, and Pubna, and unless active measures are adopted, collections for *jehad* will not cease, but will continue as rampant as ever.

95. From Coomercolly I went to Bongong, where I had learnt there were several disciples of the Patna moulvies. I there found Sumeerooddin Khan in the village of Dehie, in zillah Nuddea, a respectable talookdar who owned two indigo factories. This man admitted that he was a disciple of Moulvy Inayut Ali at Patna. That the moulvy had been to his house twice and preached *jehad*, saying how meritorious it was to perform *jehad*, and to contribute money towards its support. That his brother Zumeer Khan had presented the moulvy with a horse, and he himself had given a shawl during his second visit. That he had for two years sent about Rs. 60 each year to the moulvy at Patna, through one Nujeeboollah. He had then remitted his subscriptions to the nazir, Rehanooddeen, at Jessore. He had also in 1268 paid Rs. 17 for *jehad* to Moulvy Oosman Ali, and he had, through his nephew Abdool Barick, on two occasions sent Rs. 35 and Rs. 25 to Ameer Khan of Calcutta, to remit the money to Patna. That his nephew, Abdool Rohoman, had been to the *jehad* with Moulvy Ibrahim of Booran.

96. Abdool Barick corroborated his uncle's statement that he had paid in 1267 B.S., Rs. 35 as *jehad* subscription to Ameer Khan of Calcutta; also in 1268, when he went to Calcutta to sell indigo, he had paid Rs. 25 for *jehad* to Ameer Khan. Abdool Rohoman admitted that he had accompanied Moulvy Ibrahim to Mulka, where he had seen about 2,000 men armed with guns and swords, under their leader Moulvy Abdoollah. That he was there when these men had a fight with the English; when Abdoollah's force was defeated, and Mulka was burnt; when Abdool Barick managed to escape and return home after an absence of two years. I also found Turrikoollah, Moonshee of the village of Dhurmotee, in zillah Jessore, who admitted that he was a disciple of Moulvy Inayut Ali of Patna, since 1242 B.S., when the Moulvy had been to his house. He also admitted that he had been to *jehad* on the hills at Sittanah with one Hossein Ali, a follower of Moulvy Inayut Ali. He had remained at Sittanah for seven or eight months. He knew Nazir Rehanooddeen and had carried on business with him. The nazir had sent him with one hundred rupees to Ameer Khan of Colootollah, which he had paid to Ameer Khan for expenses of *jehad*, to be remitted to Moulvy Yahya Ali of Patna. This man it was well known to me had repeatedly carried *jehad* subscriptions from Nazir Rehanooddeen to Ameer Khan, but he would admit but this one remittance.

97. The statements of these men were recorded before the Deputy Magistrate of Bongong, and copies were sent to the Inspector-General of Police, and by him forwarded to Government. It was after the addition of the

above evidence to the brief against Ameer Khan that the Officiating Advocate-General sanctioned the prosecution of Ameer Khan. I also had the evidence of Oosman Ali, Moazim Sirdar, Zinnutoollah, and Golam Akbur, who had given evidence in the Umballah and Patna trials, recorded before the Deputy Magistrate of Rajmehal, to connect the present proceedings with the former.

98. One Abdool Rohoman of zillah Dinagepore was sent to me by the District Superintendent of Rawul Pindee, having been arrested by his police when proceeding to join the fanatics at Polosah. The information given by this man was valuable and very detailed. He had been for a number of years with the fanatics, and had been present in all the battles in the Soorgabhie Dorah, and was wounded and taken prisoner, and was detained for four years at Peshawur. After his release he had gone back to Moulvy Abdoollah, and was present in the fight with the Akoond of Swat, when Abdoollah was turned out of the valley of Bonair. He had returned home after the fanatics had settled at Polosah, and was on his way back to them, when he was arrested and sent to me by the District Superintendent of Rawul Pindee. Abdool Rohoman stated, that when on his way to Mulka on the first occasion, he had accompanied Nujeeboollah, Baber Ali, and Abdool Guffoor with a letter from Moulvy Yahiya Ali to Ameer Khan, and had brought seven bags of rupees from Ameer Khan.

99. Immediately on my return from Bongong on the 28th of November 1870, I proceeded at once to the Punjab, to collect evidence at Rawul Pindee and Peshawur, preparatory to the trial at Patna. I reached Rawul Pindee on the 8th of December 1870, where I met Mr. O'Kinealy, who had been sent to report on the papers of Colonel Chamberlain, who had suddenly died at Umballah on his way to Rawul Pindee. I had with me the prisoners Mubarak Ali, Tubarak Ali, Ameenooddin, and Hajee Deen Mahomed for identification, under warrants from the Government of India. I made them over to the officer in charge of the jail at Rawul Pindee, and began to search for witnesses to corroborate Abdoollah Kawaitee.

100. I had Ali Mahomed examined before the Magistrate of Rawul Pindee in the presence of the prisoners. He identified the prisoner Hajee Deen Mahomed, who he stated was formerly stationed at Rawul Pindee by Moulvy Abdoollah, as his agent to assist in the work of *jehad*. His business was to transmit money to the hills; but he was ostensibly *imam* of the Lalkoortee musjid.

101. Rumzan Shah, a moollah of the Lalkoortee Bazaar, also recognized prisoners Hajee Deen Mahomed and Ameenooddin. The latter he states was visited by people from the hills, and from the East, who came to Rawul Pindee on account of *jehad*. Ameenooddin had been to Rawul Pindee, and had gone towards Hazarah.

102. Joynarain, a book-seller, a native of Delhi, recognized the prisoner Ameenooddin. He had known him for twenty years. He used to import books and arms to Delhi, and send the arms on towards the frontier. He was constantly with the Bengalees who visited him, and who were *jehadees*.

103. Moula Bux, who had been at Rawul Pindee for twenty years, identified Hajee Deen Mahomed, whose daughter he had married at Rawul

Pindee, and who had left the place about sixteen months ago.

104. Mahir Ali, a native of Dacca, identified Hajee Deen Mahomed. He had been sent by Hajee Budderooddin of Dacca to Moulvy Yahiya Ali at Patna, about nine years ago. On his way to *jehad* he had put up with Hajee Deen Mahomed at Rawal Pindee. He went to the hills and had fought against the English at the battle of Kutulghur, when he had been wounded by a musket ball which had passed through his shoulder. He was taken prisoner and had been kept in the hospital at Peshawur for six months, and had been sentenced to three years imprisonment for fighting against the English. He also identified the prisoner Tubaruk Ali, having seen him with Abdoollah, the leader of the rebels at the battle of Kutulghur, where he was Abdoollah's aide-de-camp. He had also seen him at Mulka before the fight, living in the colony.

105. I was fortunate in finding a Sowar named Jan Mohomud, who lived close to Mulka, and who had seen the fanatics from his childhood, and had fought on the side of the English against the *jehadees*, who were led by Moulvy Abdoollah. He identified Tubaruk Ali, having seen him repeatedly at Mulka with Moulvy Abdoollah.

106. Some discredit was attempted to be thrown on the witness Mahir Ali, because he stated before the court at Patna that he was a *zemindar*. In a recent work, of high authority, I find the remark- "In Bengal the term *zemindar*" came to be applied to middlemen who rose to power in the decline of the Mahomedan empire. A little further north we find the same name applied to simple peasants. I have often asked a man on the road, Who are you? and get the answer, "Oh, a poor man, a *zemindar*." Mahir Ali had been so long on the frontier, that he used the word *zemindar* to signify a poor cultivator. The learned barrister also attempted to discredit the witness because he had stated that "he had not seen Mr. Reily for two months," and yet this was literally true. The gun-shot wound on his shoulder became so painful, that I sent him to the hospital at Bankipore, where he remained under the care of the medical officer for several weeks. Mahir Ali's evidence confirms the fact that Hajee Budderooddin, the hide merchant at Dacca, has been long connected with the moulvies of Patna in the business of *jehad*.

107. In my letter to the Secretary to the Government of Bengal, dated the 21st September 1870, I informed him that I had availed myself of the opportunity afforded by Colonel Chamberlain's men returning to Rawul Pindee, and had given them letters addressed to the Deputy Commissioners of Delhi, Lahore, and Rawul Pindee, requesting that the men might be permitted to see the Wahabee prisoners at those places. The result of this proceeding was, that Nazir Hossein and Attaoollah, at Delhi, made statements before the Deputy Commissioner of Delhi giving valuable information. At Lahore the state prisoners Abdool Guffoor and the two Hosseinees confessed their guilt, and admitted the justice of the sentence passed on them at Umballah in 1864. These prisoners were so intimately acquainted with the acts of the moulvies of Patna, that I made arrangements to produce them as witnesses in the Patna trials.

108. From Umballah I went to Delhi, where I had directed Baboo Ishree Pershad to meet me with Khari Omaid Ali, who had been so many years at

Delhi as an agent of the Wahabees. At Delhi, with the assistance of the District Superintendent of Police, Major Goldney, and the *Kotwal* of the city, I traced the man named Omaid Ali. I found in this manner Mozahir Ali, in whose Mudrissa Tobaruk Ali had resided, and who knew both Tobaruk Ali and Ameenooddin; also Dhurnedhur, from whom Ameenooddin had hired a house in the Dureeba Mohullah of the city; also, Ibna Yemun and Syed Mahomed, who had known both Ameenooddin and Khari Omaid Ali at Delhi; also Mahomed Shah, a learned moulvie, under whom Tubaruk Ali had studied while at Delhi, who had seen his father Mubaruk Ali also at Delhi, and knew the work on which father and son were engaged in that city. These witnesses fully corroborated Khari Omaid Ali, and I had them summoned as witnesses and brought them with me to Patna.

109. I proceeded to Peshawur on the 14th of December 1870 to try what evidence could be found there. Through the District Superintendent of Police, Captain Menzies, I traced Ahmed Meer Khan, who was named in Wafadar's letters to Colonel Chamberlain as the only person who knew his address, and where to find him. Ahmed Meer Khan was deputed to bring Wafadar Khan to Patna. I may add that he was produced as a witness at the preliminary trial, but his evidence was useless, as it could not be corroborated satisfactorily. Colonel Chamberlain's moonshee, Saligram, was sent to the frontier to find the *khettrees* who had been employed to carry money to Moulvy Abdoollah. Mahomed Israel, whom I had obtained from Colonel Chamberlain, was deputed to bring the evidence he could find beyond the frontier, to show the object and intentions of the Wahabee colony. After making these arrangements I left Peshawur and returned to Rawul Pindee; from thence I hastened on to Umballah, where I found Mahomud Shuffee and Abdool Karreem, who had been convicted in the Wahabee trial at Umballah in 1864, and subsequently pardoned. These two men had been the channel for remitting money from Patna to Moulvy Abdoollah, the leader of the colony. I felt they would be valuable witnesses to prove the connection between Patna and the frontier. I had them summoned as witnesses for the prosecution, and brought them to Patna.

110. I was anxious to have a month or two at Patna to collect the evidence, especially to secure Mosahib Ali and Elahie Bux, servants of Ameer Khan and Hashmutdad Khan and to make other inquiries at Patna; but it was ordered that the trial should commence without further delay. I had been engaged the entire year of 1870 in the prosecutions at Malda and Rajmehal, and in collecting fresh evidence against Ameer Khan in the districts of Jessore and Pubna, and in the Punjab from Delhi to Peshawur, and I had no time to attend personally to the evidence which had been collected by Baboo Ishree Pershad against Hushmutdad Khan, Peer Mahomed, and Mubaruck Ali. These men had confined their share of the abetment of the Wahabee cause chiefly to Patna and Dinapore, and no evidence was forthcoming against them out of these two places. I think it probable that had I been allowed a little time to collect the evidence at Patna, Hushmutdad Khan and Peer Mahomed would not have escaped the punishment which they deserved.

111. On the 13th of January 1871 I went to Bankipore and began to

prepare for the trial of the seven prisoners, Ameer Khan, Hushmutdad Khan, Mubaruck Ali, Tubaruck Ali, Peer Mahomed, Ameenooddin, and Hajee Deen Mahomed.

102. I applied to the Deputy Commissioner of Rawul Pindee for Mowla Bux and Nubee Bux, who had been agents for Mahomed Shuffee at Rawul Pindee, and therefore were likely to corroborate the evidence against Hajee Deen Mahomed. On the 31st of January I applied to Major Tighe for the original exhibits filed in the trial at Umballah in 1864; especially the letters of Ameer Khan, which had been found on Kazee Mean Jan at Coomercolly in 1864, and for the original account book of Ameer Khan, which I had seized at Colootollah in 1864, but which, after the trial of Ahmedoollah in 1865, had been returned to Umballah to be returned to Ameer Khan. Major Tighe assisted me cordially, and sent the documents in charge of his nazir. The account book of Ameer Khan fortunately had not been returned to him, and was sent to Patna.

113. I deputed head constable Madhub Roy to Lucknow to find Mosahib Ali. The head constable traced his house in the Burra Bankee division in Oude, but could find no trace of the man. Subsequently Baboo Ishree Pershad was deputed on this duty, and he took with him Abdoollah, Hushmutdad Khan's servant, another Abdoollah a head constable of the Patna Police, Mungloo and Boodhun Lal, but he also failed in finding Mosahib Ali. He brought with him however, Ameer Khan of Pubna, who is a native of Lucknow, and who it was proved from the papers found in 1864, had received *jehad* collections from Mean Jan Kazee, and from Mahiroollah *jachindar* of Coomercolly. It was while returning from Lucknow that Baboo Ishree Pershad, on arriving at Bankipore, stated that he had travelled from Allahabad in the same compartment of a railway carriage with Abdoollah, the son of Hushmutdad Khan, and that Abdoollah had stated that he would advise his father to confess and turn Queen's evidence; but the advice it appears was not given, for the promised result never occurred.

114. Mahomed Israel reached Bankipore, bringing with him two Pathans who were intimately acquainted with the Wahabee colony. One of them gave valuable evidence, and identified the prisoners Tubaruck Ali and Ameenooddin as having been with Abdoollah, the leader of the Wahabees. The Assistant Commissioner of Hotee Murdan, Mr. Macauley, also sent five Khettrées, viz. Seetul, Santul, Joy Sing, Naurain Sing, and Soondur Sing, who deposed to having carried money across the frontier from Rawul Pindee and Peshawur to Moulvy Abdoollah. They also deposed to having seen the fanatics fighting with the English troops at Kutulghur.

115. I had directed Baboo Nobokristo Ghose to look for evidence against Ameer Khan in the districts of Hooghly and 24-Pergunnahs, knowing that he had received *jehad* collections from these districts, and had remitted them to Patna. He found Sherazooddin, who had been twice to the *jehad*, and had remained on the hills for about nine years. In 1263 B.S., he deposed that he had been entrusted with Rs. 500, *jehad* collections, by Hajee Nazirooddin of Booran, and had paid that sum to Ameer Khan. In 1264 B.S., he carried Rs. 400 to Calcutta, and paid the same to Ameer Khan. In 1266 B.S., he went with one

Rahatoollah, and had put up in the house of one Abdool Gunny, and the next day he paid Rs. 300 to Ameer Khan. In 1267 B.S., the witness carried Rs. 400 with Moazim Sirdar, from Hajee Nasirooddin, and had given the money to Ameer Khan. Rahatoollah and Abdool Gunny appeared and corroborated this witness, and it was ascertained that Hajee Nasirooddin had absconded since these inquiries began.

116. Baboo Nobokristo Ghose also found Moazim Sirdar, who had been examined in the Umballah and Patna trials. He corroborated Sherazooddin as regards the Rs. 400 which he took jointly from Nasirooddin, and had paid them to Ameer Khan. Moazim Sirdar's evidence was useful in connecting the prisoners with the conspirators convicted in 1864 and 1865 at Umballah and Patna. Baboo Nobokristo Ghose also inquired into the statements of Golam Shah Hajee, who testified to having seen Ameer Khan pay to the well-known *cossid*, Abdool Gunny, Rs. 1,500 towards his *zekat* contributions. He traced Nobin Ghose, through whom Gholam Shah Hajee and Abdool Gunny had purchased goldmohurs with the money they had received from Ameer Khan. He also produced Okil Podar, who deposed to having sold thirty goldmohurs to Golam Shah Hajee through Nobin Ghose in 1273 B.S., and produced his account-books which corroborated his statement.

117. The Deputy Commissioner of Abbottabad, Captian Ommaney sent me two prisoners who had been arrested with goldmohurs, and three Bank of Bengal notes for Rs. 1,000 each. The men had given false names, and had denied before the Deputy Commissioner that they were carrying the money found on them to the crescentaders. On their being brought to me I had them placed before the men who had returned from *jehad*, and who fortunately were collected by me at that time at Bankipore as witnesses for the prosecution. These men without any hesitation identified one of the men as Mahomed Akbur, a sirdar under Moulvie Abdoollah, and the other as Heydeatoolla, who had been arrested at Umballah about six years ago, and who was then ascertained to be a *cossid* of Moulvy Abdoollah. Finding themselves identified, Mahomed Akbur admitted that he had received the money from Abdool Gunny, who had in his presence received the money from Ameer Khan, a few days before Ameer Khan had been arrested by me in July 1868. He mentioned in detail in what places Abdool Gunny and himself had concealed themselves during the fright they were under after Ameer Khan's arrest; and how Abdool Gunny had purchased the bank notes; and how they had gone by train to Loodianah, where Heydeatoollah had been left; and how they were both on their way to Moulvy Abdoollah with the bank notes and goldmohurs; and how they had been arrested in Hazarah. Heydeatoolla with great reluctance, finding there was no chance of escaping, confessed that he had come down from Moulvy Abdoollah with Mahomed Akbar to carry money up to the fanatics; that he had fallen ill, and had remained at Loodianah until Mahomed Akbar had returned with Abdool Gunny, bringing goldmohurs and bank notes, with which he had left for Polosah, accompanying Mahomed Akbar, and they had been arrested in Hazarah.

118. I had two men, Mahomed Hossein and Deen Mahomed, from the village of Imlah, in the district of Azimghur, the native place of Mahomed

Akbar, who deposed he had been absent from his home for a number of years, and that he had gone there recently with one Abdool Gunny and told the witnesses that he had money from the East, and was returning to the hills. I also produced a witness, Kadir Bux, from Loodianah, who identified both Mahomed Akbar and Heydeatoollah, and stated that a third man was with them whose name he did not know; also, that Hedayutoollah had remained ill in the Bahwalee *musjid*, and that after an interval of about eight months the two who had left returned, and then the three went away.

119. I directed Baboo Nobokristo Ghose to make inquiries at the places mentioned by Mahomed Akbar, to find if his statement was true. Baboo Nobokristo Ghose went to the places named by Mohamed Akbar, and produced eight witnesses from Calcutta, Hooghly, Burdwan, and Ishampore, who testified that Abdool Gunny and Mahomed Akbar had lain *perdu* in those places. These witnesses were examined before the Joint-Magistrate of Patna and the court of sessions, and fully corroborated the statement made by Mahomed Akbar.

120. The District Superintendent of Burra Bankee in Oude reported on the 7th July 1871, that his police had succeeded in arresting Mosahib Ali, for whose arrest a warrant was issued by the Magistrate of Patna. He was brought to Patna and taken before the court of sessions, and examined by the court. He admitted that he had concealed himself at the instigation of Ameer Khan, who had sent one Abdool Samud to see him safe into the Nepal territory. He had been wandering that country, and not having received any money for his expenses recently, he was on his way to his home in Owleabad, when the police had arrested him. His evidence corroborated that of Major Parsons and Baboo Nobokristo Ghose, regarding the letters found on Mean Jan Kazee in 1864. He stated that he was the writer of the letters, which he had written on the order of Ameer Khan, whose servant he was. He however intentionally made contradictory statements with respect to the entries in the account book of Ameer Khan.

121. The preliminary trial commenced on the 20th of January and was concluded on the 27th of March 1871, when the prisoners were committed for trial to the court of sessions. The evidence of the witnesses as well as the proceedings before the Joint-Magistrate of Patna have been printed; it is unnecessary therefore that I should detail them in this report. In the interval between the preliminary trial and the trial before the court of sessions, a "strong pull and a pull altogether," was made by the attorneys and barristers of the prisoners to transfer the venue of the trial to Calcutta, but the application was rejected by three of the judges of the Supreme Court.

122. It is necessary, however, to notice the affidavits which were filed before the court, bringing charges against me, Baboo Nobokristo Ghose, and Bahoo Ishree Pershad. I am charged with illegality in arresting Ameer Khan in 1864, and for having the witnesses for the prosecution confined under the charge of the police constables.

123. The arrest in 1864 was made by me as a police officer in carrying out orders I had received, to aid an officer deputed by the Punjab Government to trace the members of a conspiracy which had been discovered in that province,

and which, from undoubted evidence appeared to have originated in Bengal. In obedience to my orders, I made over to Major Parsons, Ameer Khan, Mean Jan Kazee, Mosahib Ali, and Oosman Ali. Two men arrested in the Punjab had previously been made over to me, and through them I succeeded in tracing the men I made over to Major Parsons. I beg to annex to this report my letter No. 78, dated the 5th of March 1864, to the address of the Inspector-General of Police, detailing my proceedings in assisting Major Parsons. It will be noticed that the letters which chiefly convicted Mean Jan Kazee in 1864, and the Moulvies of Patna in 1865, and Ameer Khan in the recent trial at Patna, were found under my instructions in 1864. I had no voice in the Umballah trials, but there is no doubt if Ameer Khan had been tried in 1864, he would have been convicted on the evidence at that time before the court at Umballah.

124. An extract from Mr. Prinsep's judgment has been sent to me for my information and guidance, with a letter from the Officiating Secretary to the Bengal Government, No. 5501, dated the 6th of November 1871. The extract, so far as I can gather its meaning, refers to the bail taken from Ameer Khan in 1864, - to his discharge from bail, - and the return to him of his papers and letters by me, as illegal. The bail was taken by the Magistrate of Howrah, before whom the prisoners were taken. Ameer Khan was subsequently discharged from bail with the sanction of Mr. Ravenshaw, who was appointed to conduct the Wahabee Prosecution, when it was decided that Ameer Khan was not to be brought to trial at that time. The letters of Ameer Khan found on Kazee Mean Jan, and the account book of 1278 *Hejira*, found by me on Ameer Khan; and his Moonshee Mosahib Ali, who admitted having written the letters, were made over by me with Ameer Khan to Major Parsons. The remaining letters and papers brought away from Ameer Khan's house, were carefully examined by me, and when it was ascertained that they related chiefly to his hide business, they were returned to him, on an application made through his pleader, Nobin Burrall, under instructions communicated to me through Major Parsons. I had "no unrestrained liberty of action, and there was no abuse of power," but an earnest desire to carry out the orders I had received to assist an officer deputed from another province. The year preceding these proceedings, six thousand British troops had been sent against the fanatics beyond the border. The despatches relating to the campaign were published in January 1864, and the action taken by the police in February and March of that year must be judged from the impression which that recent campaign had made on the minds of the servants of Government, both in the Punjab as well as in Bengal. For all that I did in 1864, I received the thanks of the Government of the Punjab and its dependencies, in order No. 695, dated the 10th of October 1864, which was forwarded to me by order of the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, No. 5292, dated the 3rd of November 1864. I acted throughout in consultation with the Inspector-General of Police.

125. In the affidavit which I filed before the High Court in May 1871, I explained that some of the witnesses for the prosecution who were not residents of Patna, but had been summoned from different parts of India, were allowed to reside, rent-free, in the premises of a house belonging to Government in which I lived while at Patna; that they were not under restraint,

but at liberty to go where they pleased; and the only surveillance exercised, was to prevent the friends and emissaries of the prisoners, who were constantly endeavouring to induce the witnesses not to give evidence on behalf of the prosecution, appealing to their religious and social feelings as Mahomedans. The witnesses complained that they were often insulted in the streets by some who spat when passing them; and by others, who assailed them with abusive and contemptuous epithets and expressions. Large sums of money were offered as bribes to some of the witnesses. The attorneys of the prisoners would only have been too glad if the hue and cry which was raised against me, had the effect of inducing me to relax in my efforts to prevent the witnesses being tampered with.

126. The attorneys of Ameer Khan produced before the High Court one Abdool Hye, who had made a statement on oath before the Deputy Magistrate of Alipore on the 24th of December 1870, regarding the payment by him of several sums of money to Ameer Khan on account of the *jehad* against the English. The Deputy Magistrate who had examined the witness, put in an affidavit on the 2nd of May 1871, declaring that the statement was made before him voluntarily by Abdool Hye. The witness had been concealed from January to April 1871 by Arsad Ali Khan, the son-in-law of Ameer Khan, and the pleader Nobin Burrall, through Hafiz Jamalooddin, the *imam* of the mosque of Sindrooputty. A warrant was issued by the Magistrate of Patna in March 1871 for the arrest of this witness, and notwithstanding every effort made to find Abdool Hye, he could not be traced. Two head constables were dismissed for collusion with the prisoners. It is now clear that the witness was concealed in the village of Kamrail, in the Hooghly district, in a mosque belonging to Elam Mistree. When it suited the interests of Ameer Khan to produce Abdool Hye, his attorneys produced him before the High Court, evading the warrant of the Magistrate of Patna; and on the 19th of April 1871 Abdool Hye filed an affidavit charging Baboo Nobokisto Ghose with instigating him to make a false statement before the Deputy Magistrate of Alipore. I have reason to believe that were Nobin Burrall to speak the truth, it will be found that the assassin Abdoollah went with Hafiz Jamalooddeen to fetch Abdool Hye from his hiding place when it was necessary to make use of him for the benefit of Ameer Khan.

127. Affidavits were also put in by several persons, chiefly of Dinapore, openly charging the Native Doctor, Ahmed Ali, who had been appointed a subinspector of police, with having extorted various sums of money from several persons who were named by them. One of the men named Meer Soobrattee did not hesitate to mention that after the return of Baboo Ishree Pershad to Patna he had seen Ahmed Ali give to Baboo Ishree Pershad a bag containing about Rs. 2,000. Both Baboo Ishree Pershad and Ahmed Ali put in counteraffidavits denying the charges, and there the matter ended. I was convinced from these accusations that I acted rightly in recommending the transfer of sub-inspector Ahmed Ali to Bhaugulpore.

128. The prisoners were tried before Mr. Prinsep, the Sessions Judge of Patna, who released Hushmutdad Khan without taking his defence, remarking "that the evidence against him was insufficient for conviction." As already stated, to the failure to find Elahie Bux (the gomastah of Hushmutdad Khan)

must his release be attributed. All the overt acts of which this prisoner was guilty were performed through Elahie Bux and in his absence it was impossible to bring them home to Hushmutdad Khan. During the two years Baboo Ishree Pershad was at Patna attending to this case, I think he should have found Elahie Bux.

129. The evidence against Hushmutdad Khan before the court of sessions is the same as that given before the Joint-Magistrate, on which prisoner was committed to the court of sessions; the exception is the witness Abdool Guffoor, who, in his examination before the court of sessions, in my opinion *intentionally* contradicted the evidence he had given during the preliminary trial with respect to the handwriting of several letters. From childhood this witness was acquainted with the handwriting of Moulvy Yahiya Ali, who was his *oostad* or master. He had sworn clearly and positively to the handwriting of his master at the preliminary trial, and he purposely confused his statement before the court of sessions. The contradiction rendered his evidence unreliable regarding the overt acts to which he had testified, viz. having seen Hushmutdad Khan give one hundred and fifty goldmohurs to Yahiya Ali, and to having seen him make over four hundred blankets for the use of the crescentadars. This is exactly what was intended by his contradictions, and no doubt it was cleverly planned. Hushmutdad Khan, though released, is guilty, and both he and his son Abdoollah should be placed under police surveillance.

130. The release of Peer Mahomed is to be greatly regretted. The Commissioner and the Magistrate of Patna were both of one opinion as regards his guilt when reporting about him to Government before his arrest. The Sessions Judge has made a remark which I should perhaps notice. He says—"What was apparently a very strong piece of evidence against him, and which was brought forward at the Magistrate's court, was withdrawn from the trial before this court. The reason for its withdrawal is not apparent, and it is to be regretted, because without it the case against Peer Mahomed cannot but fail, as it has now." The judge alludes no doubt to the evidence regarding the letter which was made use of by Hingun and Jhugroo to force Peer Mahomed to induce Boodboo Khan to enter satisfaction of a decree for Rs. 6,000. The Joint-Magistrate relied much on this evidence, as is apparent from the remarks on his memorandum of commitment. "The evidence," he observes, "as to this letter it [sic] is very full. Abdoollah Kawaitee deposes to writing it- Boodhoo Khan deposes to receiving it- Hingun deposes to finding it amongst Mungloo's papers- Mungloo deposes to taking the papers to Hingun- and Ali Hossein, who holds a share in the decree, deposes as to the way in which satisfaction was entered in the decree. Meer Umjad, the mooktear, and also Syed Shofkath, Hossein vakeel's clerk, depose to the same." It is to be regretted that so well sustained and connected a piece of evidence should be withdrawn; but it could not well be helped. In addition to the remarks made by Mr. Justice Norman with regard to this letter in the appeal of Ameerooddin of Malda, I found the men who had filed the affidavits against the native doctor, Ahmed Ali, were ready to swear to the same charges when called as witnesses for the defence. Wazid, the man who was one of the principals in the original information, was ready to appear as a witness against Ahmed Ali. The vakeel, Ali Hossein, could

not be trusted. He had already stated before Mr. O'Kinealy and myself that his father had paid a thousand rupees to Ahmed Ali. The defence had summoned witnesses (Europeans) who were ready to testify that Jhugroo, another witness regarding the letter, was a man of low character and a drunkard, who had often gone about the streets threatening to denounce persons as Wahabees; also that Mangloo was a common *Kigmutgar* to a railway guard. In short, were the charge about the letter pressed, there was a probability (whether truly or falsely I cannot say) of scandal and suspicion being cast on the evidence relating to the letter.

131. Baboo Ishree Pershad having repeatedly complained both to Mr. O'Kinealy and to me, that he was drawing Rs. 300 a month as a Deputy Magistrate when his pay in the police was Rs. 400, I applied to have his salary raised to Rs. 400 a month, which was sanctioned and during the trial at Patna he received about Rs. 1,600 as back pay, being the difference between his former rate of pay and the enhanced allowance of Rs. 400. I believe this increase was granted for his services during the time he had been employed on special duty at Patna.

132. Abdoollah Kawaitee and Oomaid Ali have rendered good service in the prosecution. They were detained for nearly two years, and have lost their former means of livelihood. Mr. O'Kinealy and myself promised them compensation after the trial was over. I would suggest that Abdoollah receive Rs. 500 to set up in business at Delhi, which he proposes to do, because he will not be comfortable at Patna, after the damaging evidence he gave against the Wahabees. I beg herewith to return his petition, sent to me with order from Government to return with this report. Oomaid Ali I would suggest receive as compensation Rs. 250.

133. Boodhoo Khan gave his evidence detailing the entire transaction relating to the letter, and the manner in which satisfaction for the decree was entered in the court. He represents that if he had not given evidence at Baboo Ishree Pershad's request before the Cantonment Magistrate of Dinapore, Peer Mahomed would have made good to him the loss sustained by the sacrifice of the decree. But Jhugroo is an insolvent, and Boodhoo Khan gave up his claim more to save himself than at the advice of Peer Mahomed. I think for his having stood firm to the prosecution and for his detention for several months he may receive as compensation Rs. 200.

134. Joynarain book-seller at Rawul Pindee was forced to close his shop and was detained at Patna for about six months, and is entitled to Rs. 30 as compensation.

135. Nobin Chunder Ghose and Okhil Chunder Podar suffered some loss, as they trade chiefly in Malda mangoes, and were detained at Patna until the middle of July, and were prevented from recovering the advances they had made for mangoes. I beg to recommend the former receive Rs. 30, and the latter also Rs. 30 as compensation.

136. Mazoom Sirdar, Irfanooddin, and Sherazooddin were detained for six months at Patna, and suffered some loss in the management of their lands during their absence from their homes. I think Rs. 30 to each will be sufficient compensation. Noorsha Ali came all the way from the frontier, and was

detained at Patna for six months; he may receive Rs. 30 as compensation.

137. Mahomed Akbar of Azimghur, who enabled us to show that Ameer Khan only a day or two before his arrest in July 1868 had paid over to the cossid Abdool Gunny more than Rs. 3,000 for the *jehad*, was detained at Patna for six months, and is entitled to compensation. I would suggest Rs. 30.

138. The prisoner Hosseinee of Patna, who was convicted in 1864, and is now a State prisoner in the jail at Lahore, is deserving of a remission of the remainder of his sentence. Mr. O'Kinealy fully intended to recommend this indulgence; he gave his evidence very fairly against the prisoners. Hosseinee of Thanessur is entitled to compensation for the time he was detained at Patna. I think Rs. 15 sufficient.

139. Moulvy Oosman Ali was also detained for a period of six months at Patna, and not only gave valuable evidence, but was of great assistance to both Mr. O'Kinealy and myself. He is deserving of Rs. 100 as compensation. Mr. O'Kinealy promised to recommend Oosman Ali for the appointment of a *kazee* in his native place; I beg to recommend the same; he is a man of good abilities, and an ex-student of the Calcutta Madrissa.

140. Mahomed Israel was sent by Colonel Chamberlain and gave valuable evidence at Malda, Rajmehal, and also at Patna. I think he should receive Rs. 200 as compensation. Mr. O'Kinealy promised to recommend him to the Punjab authorities for employment as tehsildar. Mahomed Israel is a son of the well-known Kotah *Mollah*, and has some influence on the frontier, and he will be useful hereafter in giving information regarding the fanatics. For the loyal and decided manner in which Mahomed Israel kept to the side of the Government throughout these proceedings, he is deserving of an appointment under the Punjab Government.

141. Baboo Nobokristo Ghose	I have recommended for a reward of
Madab Roy.	Rs. 1,000 for his services at Malda and Rajmehal.
Denoonath.	For his services in discovering the evidence he
Modoosoodun.	produced at Patna, and in watching the witnesses,
Azar Ali.	I suggest that he receive a reward of Rs. 500;
Kazee Moorad.	and the head constables named in the margin,
Tarrab Chand.	who were with me at Patna, Rs. 30 each.
Srejjaree Somg.	
Nang Sing.	

142. I received every assistance I could possibly expect from the authorities in the Punjab in the prosecution of these inquiries. Colonel Pollock, the Commissioner, and Captain Waterfield, the Deputy Commissioner, rendered me great assistance, and took a warm interest in my inquiries. To Colonel Chamberlain I am indebted for very valuable evidence. His sudden death was a great loss to the prosecution. I have no doubt had he lived to witness the trials at Patna, the evidence against the prisoners would have been much stronger, and others would have been tried at Delhi and Peshawur. He entered heartily into the work, and never spared any pains to carry out the wishes of the Government of India. His Subadar-Major, Natta Sing, and his Moonsshee, Saligram, are entitled to some notice of their services. Had Colonel Chamberlain lived, those services would have been brought to the notice of the

Government, and the latter in my opinion is deserving of a reward of Rs. 200 from the Punjab Government, and to a situation suitable to his abilities. He faithfully performed the duties entrusted to him, and worked with great zeal and ability. He made a great many enemies by the zeal he evinced against the Wahabees, and attempts were made to get up charges of bribery against him; but I believe they were never substantiated, and were false. Mahomed Esuf, another man who was employed by Colonel Chamberlain, and gave evidence at Malda, also deserves a reward of Rs. 30. He will prove a most useful man in giving information about the fanatics at Rawul Pindee and Peshawur if retained in the Punjab Police. Colonel Urmston, Deputy Commissioner, and Mr. Turnbull, District Superintendent of Police at Rawul Pindee, assisted me materially, and I am greatly indebted to them, and to Colonel Bean, the Cantonment Magistrate for their readiness at all times to help me. Mr. Turnbull took much trouble in sending me the witnesses required at Malda and Rajmehal.

143. At Umballa Major Tighe, the Commissioner, did everything in his power to help me; and having conducted the prosecution in 1864 at Umballa, he was well acquainted with the Wahabees.

144. At Delhi Major Orchard, the District Superintendent of Police, and Mr. Carr Stephen, the Magistrate, rendered me great aid in my investigations in that city. The witness, Omaid Ali, was found chiefly through the exertions of Major Orchard.

145. The District Superintendent of Burra Bankee in Oude, and the Deputy Commissioner of Lucknow, helped me greatly in my inquiries. To the District Superintendent of Burra Bankee I am indebted for arresting Mosahib Ali, the servant of Ameer Khan.

146. At Patna, Mr. Jenkins the Commissioner, the Magistrate, and Joint-Magistrate supported Baboo Ishree Pershad thoroughly, who appears to have had their entire confidence.

147. The Deputy Magistrate of Coomercolly, Baboo Krishna Chunder Roy, and the Deputy Magistrate of Bongong, Baboo Sereesh Chunder Vedarutna, were very useful in securing the evidence I had obtained in these two sub-divisions. Throughout these inquiries I am happy to say every officer to whom I had occasion to apply was always ready to help me.

148. I was much assisted by my clerk, Baboo Sreenath Muzoomdar, who worked with great zeal, and paid the witnesses at Patna their diet allowance, and kept the accounts connected with the money which passed through my hands during the prosecution at Patna. The Recorder of evidence, Mr. C.N. Banerjee, who was sent from the Bengal office, took his notes of the evidence and of the proceedings with much intelligence and accuracy, and was of great help.

149. I beg to submit a list of the Wahabees in Calcutta, Patna, Delhi, Rawul Pindee, Peshawur, &c., so far as I was able to ascertain during these inquiries.

150. Before concluding this report, it is necessary I should mention that the inquiries in 1864 originated in the Punjab, and ceased after the conviction of

Moulvie Ahmedoollah in 1865; they were revived again in 1868, on the report of the Commissioner of Rajshahye, Mr. W.F. Robinson, and were continued under the orders of Government.

J.H. REILY,
On special duty.

LIST OF WAHABEES

In Calcutta.

NAMES.	RESIDENCE.
Moulvie Ismail, son of Bodiojumah	Misreengunge.
Hafiz Jamalooddeen	Colootollah.
Nacoda Hajee Jakareah	China Bazaar.
Moulvie Mahomed	Ditto.
Hateem	Colootollah.
Hajee Jibun Bux	Ditto.
Hafiz Abdoollah	Amratollah Gully.
Kurreem Bux	Ditto.
Hakeem Ahmed Mirza	Colootollah.
Khoda Bux	Ditto.
Khoda Bux	Tuntuneah.
Khojah Abdool Kurreem	Colingah.
Shah Syed Fukeerooddeen	Lushkureetouah.
Isha Khan	Ditto.
Hafiz Busseerooddeen	Colootollah.
Nacoda Aga	Ditto.
Mahomed Sherajee	Ditto.
Moosha Khan	Ditto.
Rohim Shah	Ditto.
Ghoolam Russool	Ditto.
Noor Mahomed	Tuntuneah.
Sheikh Elahie Jan	Machooah Bazaar.
Mirza Mahomed Ali	Colootollah.
Nacoda Abdoolla	Ditto.
Nacoda Ibrahim Johir	Ditto.
Nacoda Hajee Ahmed Ibrahim	Amratollah Gully.
Nacoda Ubber Osman	Ditto.
Sheik Shadoollah	Tuntunneah.
Abdool Rezuk	Misreengunge.

In Patna.

Mahomed Hossein, son of Velul Ali	Sadiekpore.
Heydeatoolah	Ditto.
Rahimutoollah, son of Ahmedoollah	Ditto.
Abdool Hameed	Ditto.
Abdool Kurreem, son of Furhut Hossein	Ditto.
Hakim Iradut Hossein	Ditto.
Wajeed Hossein	Ditto.
Moulvy Issa, son of Yahiya Ali	Ditto.
Moulvy Mobaruk Ali	Ditto.
Hushmatdad Khan	Allumgunge.
Arshad Ali Khan	Ditto.
Abdoollah Khan	Ditto.
Taz Khan	Ditto.
Feroze Khan	Ditto.
Mahomed Khan	Ditto.
Elahie Bux	Ditto.
Hajee Shobrathee	Ditto.
Elahie Bux, brother of Muxood Ali	Direw.
Pyembur Bux	Patna City.
Mahomed Ali	Ditto.
Abdool Rushid	Ditto.
Sheik Nassir Ali	Ditto.
Nezamooddin	Ditto.
Amanee	Ditto.
Kurreemooddin	Ditto.
Ramzan Ali	Ditto.
Hosseinee	Ditto.
Sheikh Shumshir Ali	Ditto.
Syed Sufkut Hossein	Ditto.
Modhan	Ditto.
Choonee Ekkawallah	Ditto.
Babur Ali	Ditto.
Mahomed Israel	Dinapore.
Oomur	Dehee.
Mahomed Ishak	Ditto.
Warris Ali	Patna City.
Khorshaid Ali	Ditto.

In Dinapore.

Peer Mahomed	Dinapore.
Meah Shobrathee	Ditto.
Rowshun Khan	Ditto.

Elahie Bux	Ditto.
Abdool Kurreem	Ditto.
Abdoola Khan	Ditto.
Sheik Khoobbee	Ditto.
Sheik Ahmed Khalifa	Ditto.
Sookhoo Khan	Ditto.
Cheddi Khan	Ditto.
Abdool Rohoman	Ditto.
Moula Bux	Ditto.
Nubee Bux	Ditto.
Wuzeer Khan	Ditto.
Chutto Khan	Ditto.
Amdoo Khan	Ditto.
Bhodai Khan	Ditto.
Gowshun Khan	Ditto.
Azim Khan	Ditto.
Sheik Kurreem Bux	Ditto.
Sheik Ramzan	Ditto.
Basharut	Ditto.
Ameer Khan	Ditto.
Kallay Khan	Ditto.
Huttoo Khan	Ditto.
Soophun Khan	Ditto.
Hushmutoollah Khan	Ditto.
Ujab Khan	Ditto.
Abdoolla, <i>fruit-seller</i>	Ditto.
Sadoollah	Ditto.
Asghur	Ditto.
Sahamut Khan	Ditto.
Kyfut Hossein	Ditto.
Ali Hossein	Ditto.
Meer Inayut Hossein	Ditto.
Sheik Peer Ali	Ditto.
Sheik Peer Bux	Dinapore.
Mirza Ameer	Ditto.
Jehan Khan	Ditto.
Sheik Jumun	Ditto.
Sheikh Ahmed Ali	Ditto.
Sheik Ahmed Ali	Ditto.
Kurru Khan	Ditto.
Baboo Khan	Ditto.
Jamalooddeen	Ditto.
Kadir Ali	Ditto.

Sheik Bhikoo	Ditto.
Meer Alla Bux	Ditto.
Meer Mushruf Ali	Ditto.
Ishahak	Ditto.
Sheik Nusseemoollah	Ditto.
Jhugroo	Ditto.
Hingun	Ditto.
Boodhoo Khan	Ditto.
Kulloo Khan	Ditto.
Yaseen Khan	Ditto.
Hassan Ali	Ditto.
Kureem Buksh	Ditto.
Khodabux	Ditto.
Meer Amjad Ali	Ditto.
Abdool Rohoman	Ditto.
Morad Khan	Ditto.
Wazid Ali	Ditto.
Ahmed Ali	Ditto.
Mahomed Sadik	Ditto.
Abdoollah Khan	Ditto.
Abdool Azeez	Agent at Peshawur.

In Delhi.

Moulvy Nazir Hossein	Delhi City.
Moulvi Rohomutoollah	Ditto.
Moulvy Imam Ali	Ditto.
Omed Ali	Ditto.
Mahomed Shah	Ditto.
Muzhur Ali Khan	Ditto.
Kazee Ibuna Imen	Ditto.
Syed Mahomed	Ditto.
Momin Khan	Ditto.
Hossein Bux	Ditto.
Ameer Beg	Ditto.
Abdool Azeez	Ditto.
Syed Feroze	Ditto.
Kyfutoollah	Ditto.
Allaooddeen	Ditto.
Khoda Bux, Mooktear	Ditto.
Hingun Khan	Ditto.

Rawul Pindee.

Nek Mahomed	City Rawul Pindee.
Ali Mahomed	Ditto.

Ramzan Sheik	Cantonment.
Hafez Abdool Kurreem	City Rawul Pindee.
Heydeatoollah	Ditto.

Umballah.

Mahomed Shuffee	Umballah City.
Abdool Kurreem	Ditto.
Mahomed Ruffee	Ditto.
Nubee Bux	Ditto.
Abdool Huk	Ditto.
Abdool Hakeem	Ditto.

Soorujgurreah.

Meer Oulad Ali	Sooroojgurreah.
Meer Attar Hossein	Ditto.
Meer Abdool Huk	Ditto.

Lucknow.

Moulvy Mahomed Ali	Lucknow.
Moulvy Abdool Rohoman	Ditto.
Ameer Khan	Ditto.
Mosahib Ali	Ulleabad.
Abdool Summud	Ditto.
Moulvy Reyat Ali	Benares.
„ Amanutoollah	Ghazeepore.
„ Mahomed Fusee	Ditto.

Pehsawur.

Mooftee Mahomed Hossein	Peshawur.
Surfraz Khan	Ditto.
Syed Khan, <i>Khansamah</i>	Ditto.
Abdool Rohoman	Ditto.
Moollah Ibrahim	Ditto.
„ Jehangir	Ditto.
Shumshir Durzee	Ditto.

24-Pergunnahs.

Mofezooddeen Khan	Hakimpore.
Sherajooddeen Khan	Ditto.
Moonshee Abdool Gunee	Ditto.
Abdool Hameed Khan	Ditto.
Sumeerooddeen Khan	Ditto.
Rahatoollah	Ditto.
Moulvy Oosman Ali	Wafapore.
Hajee Abdool Luteef	Ditto.

Moazim Sirdar	Chandpore.
Zinootoollah	Gonorakettee.
Golam Akbar	Ditto.

Jessore.

Moulvy Nusseeroodden	Arooa Burnee.
Busseerooddeen	Ditto.
Abdool Rezak	Ditto.
Ramzan Gauzie	Ditto.
Moonshee Osimooddeen	Sunkerpore.
Taleboollah	Doormootia.
Nujeeboollah	Digdana.
Tukeemooddeen	Jessore.
Meer Emdad Ali	Sunkerpore.
Moonshee Maizooddeen	Ditto.
Olee Mahomed	Paneepara.
Dowlut Mahomed	Ditto.

Furreedpore.

Moulvy Irfanooddeen	Dhankorah.
Abdoolah	Goburdanga.
Abdool Kadir, <i>Fakeer</i>	Gobra.
Osimooddeen Chowdry	Ditto.

Rajshahye.

Hajee Muneerooddin	Sapoorah.
„ Khoda Bux	Chowk.
Abdool Huk	Rampore.
Moulvy Keranutoollah	Jamira.
„ Inayutoollah	Boga.
Dewan Anunto	Topoorah.
Hajee Shuffee	Rajshahye.
Sheik Shurmtoollah	Ditto.
Bawool Sircar	Chuck Mohobutpore.
Shohobit	Shaipore.
Abdool Rezak	Kishur.
Abdool Rohim Khunker	Batoreah.
Mitto Paramanick	Rambaug.
Modoo Mahaldar	Akrigunge.
Judoo	Bogwangolah.

Nuddea.

Sook Mahomed	Bistopore.
Ramzan Jachindar	Doorgapore.

Kulimooddeen	Ditto.
Arif Jachindar	Ditto.
Daimoollah Jachindar	Ditto.
Sheik Mirzan	Ditto.
Muneeroodden Gauzie	Ditto.
Sumeeroodden Gauzie	Bhowanipore.
Mirzan Shah	Janipore.
Sumeerooddeen Khan	Dehee.
Abdool Baree	Ditto.
Abdool Rohoman	Ditto.

Pubna.

Gadul Khan	Radhanuggur.
Sadek Duffadar	Ditto.
Mungul Khan	Ditto.
Moonshee Ruffiooddeen	Shalgera.
Kureem Nicaree	Ditto.
Lall Mahomed	Gauzo Mautee.
Moonshee Kurmanoollah	Ditto.
Garshee Nicaree	Ditto.

Bograh.

Baboollah Mundul	Begrah.
Ali Poramanick	Ditto.
Allimooddeen, <i>Zemindar</i>	Ditto.
Moonshee Nusseerooddeen	Ditto.
Burkutoollah, (cossid)	Ditto.
Muneerooddeen	Ditto.
Golam Imam	Ditto.
Nasir Mahomed	Ditto.
Nazir Mahomed	Ditto.
Shorofoollah	Ditto.

Mymensing.

Moulvie Ibrahim	Deldwar.
Moonshee Johirooddeen	Akaloo.
Salimooddeen	Ditto.
Sureeboollah	Ditto.
Assanoollah	Tengripara.
Kooran Sheik	Roohinee.
Moulvy Abdoolah	Attea Kagmaree.

Copy of a letter from J.H. Reily, Esq., Special Superintendent of the Detective Police, to the Inspector-General of Police, Lower Provinces, No. 78, dated 5th March 1864.

I have the honor to report the proceedings of this department of police, in accordance with your instructions, while affording assistance to Captain Parsons in his enquiries in Lower Bengal.

2. The statements made by Abdoollah and Lal Mahomed before the authorities in the Punjab proved false as regards the names of persons and places, and for this reason no clue could be found on which I could base my proceedings. I then applied to Captain Parsons to send me the two men who had been arrested on the frontier. They reached my office on the 10th of February last, from which date my proceedings commence.

3. I ascertained that the real name of the man who called himself Abdoollah was Mazoom Sirdar, and that he was an inhabitant of Chandpore near Satkeerah, in the Baraset District. The name of the other man was Lal Mahomed, an inhabitant of Kamargaon, in Pubna. I determined to search their houses, and by local enquiries to ascertain who they were, and how long they had been absent from homes? I deputed on this duty the special Inspector of Hooghly, Baboo Nobokristo Ghose.

4. On searching Mazoom Sirdar's house two letters were found — one written by him to his son from Patna, bearing the Patna Post Office mark (A); another, which Oosman Ali had written to Mazoom Sirdar (B). The inspector on finding this letter searched the house of Oosman Ali, where he found the letter (C) which Oosman Ali had written to his father from the Backergunge district. I send translations of these letters, which speak for themselves. On the finding of these letters, both Mazoom Sirdar and Oosman Ali finding it useless any longer to deny their guilt, made confessions before me. The confessions and letters have been made over to Captain Parsons. The men have repeated their confessions before the Magistrate of Howrah, before whom I considered it advisable to take them, since confessions recorded before me, a police Officer, are not legal evidence.

5. It is clear from the enquiries instituted by me, that a Moulvy named Inayut Ali from Patna visited Lower Bengal about twenty-five years ago, and taught the people that it was the duty of all true Mahomedans to perform *jehad*, i.e., to fight for their faith against all unbelievers. He went through the districts of Baraset, Jessore, Furreedpore, Pubna, and Rampore Beaulah, making *mureeds* or disciples, and at the same time appointing leaders or agents. In Baraset, he appointed as his agent one Hadjee Nazirooddeen of Pulaspore. In Jessore, Rehanooddeen, the nazir of the Judge's court. In Pubna, Cauzie Meajan. In Rampore Beaulah, one Muneerooddeen. The Furreedpore agent we have yet to ascertain. After Inayut Ali's death, Mahomed Fyaz Ali of Patna came on the same errand about three years ago, and succeeded in re-kindling the zeal of the faithful.

6. Hadjee Nazirooddeen, the agent at Baraset, has a son named Aftabooddeen, alias Moulvy Ibrahim. This man accompanied Fyaz Ali to Dacca and Furreedpore, and preached throughout the Baraset district, forming

jumayets or assemblies at Goorookatty, Kadakatty, Hasbaspore, Boodhatty, Sherepore, and Zandia- all in the Baraset district. Moulvy Ibrahim two years ago went to the frontier with ten or twelve disciples, and is still there. It was the preaching of Moulvy Ibrahim that excited the religious zeal of Mazoom Sirdar, and induced him to forsake his home and family with the intention of proceeding to Malka and Sittanah. He was directed to go to the house of Moulvy Willayut Ali at Patna, whence he would be sent on to Sittanah. He accordingly went to Patna accompanied by two boys, named Golam Akbur and Jinnutoollah. Another *mureed*, a disciple of Moulvy Ibrahim, also went with him, viz. Kazee Gyasooddeen, who also induced two men to accompany him, viz. Kabil Sirdar and Bojee. These men went to Patna to Moulvy Yahiya Ali, who is the chief agent at Patna in the business, but acting through his agent Abdool Guffoor.

7. Mazoom Sirdar was detained at Patna for five months, where he was fed, clothed, and instructed by Moulvy Yahiya Ali. He was then sent with 180 goldmohurs, which were sewn into his jacket, and a man named Hosseinee was sent with him carrying in the same manner about a hundred goldmohurs. They were directed to deliver the coin to one Moulvy Jaffer at Thanessur. It appears that they met this man at Delhi, and made over the gold to him, who despatched them through another Hosseinee to Mahomed Shuffee. The goldmohurs were seized by the Umballah police on the person of the second Hosseinee; and this fact, it will be seen, corroborates the statement of Mazoom Sirdar. Hosseinee having been seized, and Mazoom Sirdar hearing that troops were marching to the frontier, his courage failed him, and he turned back from Delhi with Moonshee Jaffer, in whose company he was arrested. The evidence of this man and that of the two lads who accompanied him are available to convict Moulvy Yahiya Ali and Abdool Guffoor, whom they have since identified before the Magistrate of Patna. Mazoom Sirdar also corroborates the statement of Oosman Ali, that they were both deputed to raise collections for the support of the men assembled at Mulka and Sittanah.

8. Oosman Ali is a student of the Calcutta Madrissa. He was first led into this business by Rehanooddeen, the nazir of the Judge's court at Jessore. The nazir supplied him with funds and a boat, and sent him to raise collections from all true Mahomedans, by teaching them that it was their duty to aid in *jehad*, or a war for *deen* or faith. Oosman collected money in Jessore, Furreedpore, and part of Backergunge; and it was from Gobrah, in the Backergunge district, that he sent the letter (D) found in his house addressed to his father. He collected about Rs. 150 and paid the same to Nazir Rehanooddeen, who shewed him a letter from Abdool Guffoor directing him to send money to Patna. Another agent who collected money was Muffizooddeen of Hakimpore. This man, it appears, realized Rs. 500 or 1,000 annually. The money collected by the Nazir at Jessore was taken to Hakimpore by the nazir's peon *Tuckimooddeen*, and was thence sent to one Abdool Rohim, who remitted it to Patna. On going to Abdool Rohim's house at Collootollah, I found he had decamped with his books.

9. Oosman Ali states that Patna was known amongst the conspirators as *chota godown*; the master there was ostensibly Abdool Guffoor, but in reality

Moulvie Yahiya Ali, Mulka and Sittanah are known as *burra godown*, the master there being Moulvy Abdoollah alias Baboo Sahib. The conspirators have false names given to them when they join the plot. The *nom de guerre* of Moulvy Yahiya Ali is Mohidooddeen. That of Moulvy Fyaz Ali, Busseerooddeen. All correspondence is carried on in these names, while money is alluded as *mal*, and men are sent up as *beyparees*. The above information is confirmed by the statement of the several confessaries, who have been examined; and is further corroborated by seven letters which have been seized.

10. From the statement of Lal Mahomed of Pubna, I find he actually went to Mulka and Sittanah, remained there several months, and at last delivered himself up to the British force when advancing on Mulka. This man saw several hundred Bengalees at Mulka, who had assembled there to fight for *deen* under Moulvy Abdoollah. They had been deluded into the belief that a saint named Syed Ahmed was to appear, who would lead the faithful to victory; and all who joined his standard, before his appearance, would be specially favored. A Pathan was retained at Mulka to drill the Bengalees; and from Lal Mahomed's account it is evident they find their life at Mulka anything but pleasant.

11. Through Lal Mahomed the special inspector traced and arrested Kazee Morad, the man Captain Parsons was so anxious to find. I have made Kazee Morad over to Captain Parsons. The Kazee is an inhabitant of Chuck Hurrupore, in Pubna district. From his statement it appears that he was persuaded to go to Mulka by Kazee Ibrahim. He states that he was received at Patna in the house of Moulvy Inayut Ali, whose cousin (Moulvy Yahiya Ali) fed him, and instructed him, and directed Abdool Guffoor to give him money and send him on to Thanessur to the house of Mahomed Jaffar, who is known as a *vakeel* or pleader. He was then sent on to Rawul Pindee, where Hafiz Abdool Guffoor met him, and went with him to Mulka. There he was made to take an oath before Moulvy Abdoollah. He remained at Mulka about three months, during which time he was drilled by a Pathan named Nujeeb Khan, and was told distinctly that he would have to fight with the English. He saw about one thousand Bengalees at Mulka. They were divided into troops commanded by eight sirdars, viz., Shureatoollah of Rampore Beuleah, Nazimooddeen of Jessore, Oosman Sirdar of Furreedpore, Moulvy Ibrahim of Polaspore in Baraset, Neesut Khan, a Hindoostanee, and three other Hindoostanees.

12. From information obtained from Lal Mahomed and Kazee Morad, the house of Kazee Mean Jan was searched, and twenty letters were found bearing the post mark of Patna and Calcutta, &c., confirming in every respect the information afforded by Mazoom Sirdar and Oosman Ali. I append translations of ten of these letters.* The originals have been made over to

* No. 1 to 10.

Captain Parsons. Kazee Mean Jan, in his statement before the Magistrate of Howrah, admits that the letters were found in his house, but he kept them without ever reading them. Kazee Mean Jan is a brother of Kazee Morad. He admits that Moulvy Fyaz Ali wrote to him under the *nom de guerre* of Buseerooddeen, while Moulvy Yahiya Ali wrote under the name of Moheecooddeen; that *chota godam*

is Patna, and *burra godam* the Mountains at Mulka. He admits that his name was changed to Mahomed Shukkur. That Mahiroollah Jachindar collected money for the support of the men at Malka. That hoondees were taken from the house of Ameer Khan of Pubna to Ameer Khan at Colootollah, in Calcutta, who sent the money to Patna. That Moneerooddeen of Rampore Beaulah is chiefly engaged in this business.

13. On this information I went to the house of Ameer Khan at Colootollah, and in his books found two items of 200 Rs. and 125 Rs. entered

as stated in Ameer Khan's letters* to Kazee Mean Jan. The item of 125 Rs. appears in the name of

* Nos. 8,9, and 10.

Mahiroollah Jachindar, while the acknowledgement is sent to Kazee Mean Jan. The money, it appears from the books, was remitted to Patna by hondee in the name of Zorawar Khan, a partner of Ameer Khan. The finding of the items in Ameer Khan's books at Colootollah from letters found in Kazee Mean Jan's house at Coomercolly is the strong corroborative evidence of the genuineness of these letters. There is very little doubt that Ameer Khan, the hide merchant, and Abdool Rohim, and another hide merchant, are deeply involved in this conspiracy, though there is very little hope now of finding any evidence to convict them. I learn that Abdool Rohim has made away with all his books.

14. In most of these cases I have engaged Baboo Nobokisto Ghose, the special Inspector of Hooghly. He has afforded me very valuable assistance, and has proved himself an officer of great energy and ability. He has evinced much caution and discretion in carrying on these inquiries. I beg to bring his services to your special notice.

15. Though I am convinced the Government have little to fear from such petty conspiracies, yet it appears necessary that the Mahomedan population should be taught that they will not be permitted to carry on such treasonable proceedings with impunity. The people of this country cannot comprehend clemency and forbearance, when extended to rebellious subjects; and are very apt to interpret them as evincing weakness and fear. The best punishment that can be awarded to men who have joined the present conspiracy is confiscation of property.

16. I have no doubt more information may be collected at Rampore Beaulah, Furreedpore, Dacca, and Backergunge, from which districts money has been chiefly collected. Should the Government determine to proceed with these enquiries, it will be necessary to arm me with special powers; as a police officer I am very nearly helpless.

17. From my experience in the districts of Jessore, Furreedpore, and Backergunge, I am convinced that the Mahomedan population will never be reconciled to the British *Raj*. The people are taught to look forward to a day when a saint will appear, who will exterminate all unbelievers, and restore the empire to the faithful. This feeling prevails extensively, and is principally kept alive by *hadjees* or pilgrims who return annually from Mecca, with feelings of intense hatred to the British rule.

18. I beg to suggest that the Police throughout the country be directed to keep a register of all men who proceed to Mecca, and of those who return as *hadjees*. A register of this kind will be the truest index of the feeling of the Mahomedan population in the different districts in Bengal.

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